



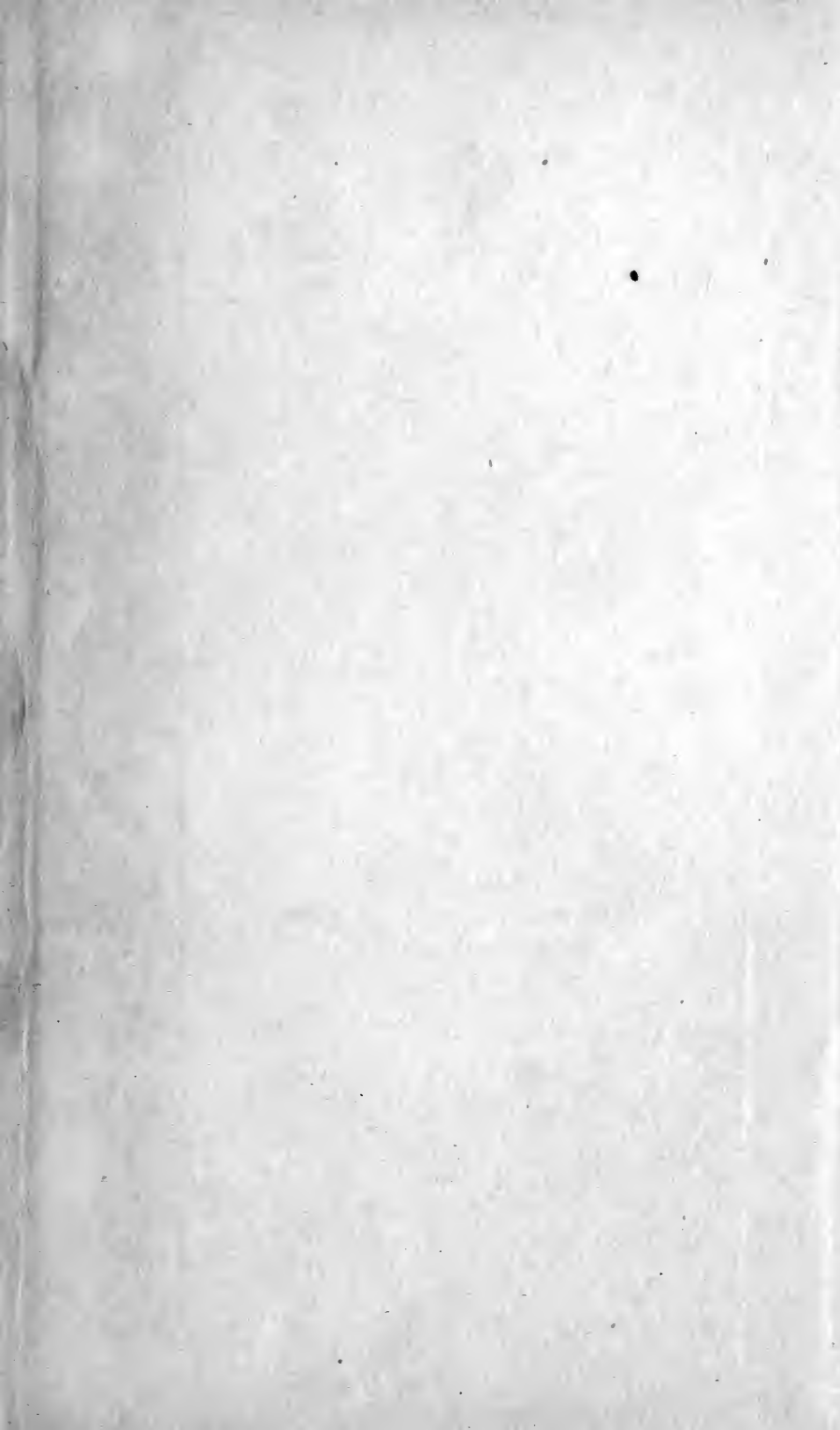


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# THE ANABASIS,

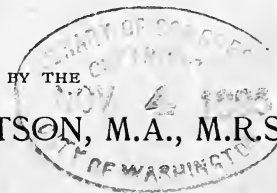
OR

# EXPEDITION OF CYRUS.

LITERALLY TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK

OF

# XENOPHON,



REV. J. S. WATSON, M.A., M.R.S.L.

BOSTON:

WILLARD SMALL.

1893.

17-8 Tomont.  
May 1892

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S. J. PARKHILL & CO., PRINTERS  
226 FRANKLIN STREET  
BOSTON

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XENOPHON'S  
ANABASIS,  
OR  
EXPEDITION OF CYRUS.

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BOOK I.—CHAPTER I.

Parentage of Cyrus the Younger. After the death of his father he is accused of plotting against his brother Artaxerxes, who imprisons him, but releases him on the intercession of his mother, and sends him back to his province, where he secretly collects forces, of which a large proportion are from Greece, to make war on his brother.

1. OF Darius and Parysatis were born two sons, the elder Artaxerxes, and the younger Cyrus. After Darius had fallen sick, and suspected that the end of his life was approaching, he was desirous that both of his sons should attend him. 2. The elder then happened to be present; Cyrus he sent for from the province of which he had made him satrap. He had also appointed him commander of all the forces that muster in the plain of Castolus.

Cyrus accordingly went up, taking with him Tissaphernes as a friend, and having also with him three hundred heavy-armed Greeks, and Xenias of Parrhasia, their captain.

(Xenophon c. 434 - 355 B.C.)

3. But when Darius was dead, and Artaxerxes was placed upon the throne, Tissaphernes brought an accusation against Cyrus before his brother, saying that he was plotting against him. Artaxerxes was induced to give credit to it, and had Cyrus arrested, with the intention of putting him to death; but his mother, having begged his life, sent him back to his province.

4. When Cyrus had departed, after being thus in danger and disgrace, he began to consider by what means he might cease to be subject to his brother, and make himself king, if he could, in his stead. Parysatis, their mother, was well disposed towards Cyrus, as she loved him better than Artaxerxes, who was on the throne.

5. Whatever messengers from the king came to visit him, he let none of them go till he had inclined them to be friends to himself, rather than the monarch. He also paid such attention to the Barbarians that were with him, that they were in a condition to take the field, and well inclined towards himself. 6. His Greek force he collected as secretly as he could, that he might surprise the king as little prepared as possible.

He collected troops in the following manner. Whatever garrisons he had in his towns, he sent orders to the commanders of them to procure respectively as many Peloponnesians as they could, of the best class of soldiers, on pretence that Tissaphernes was forming designs upon those towns. For the cities of Ionia had formerly been under the government of Tissaphernes, having been assigned to him by the king, but had at this time all revolted to Cyrus except

Miletus. 7. Tissaphernes, discovering that the people of Miletus were forming a similar design, [to go over to Cyrus,] put some of them to death, and sent others into banishment. Cyrus, receiving the exiles under his protection, and assembling an army, laid siege to Miletus by land and sea, and used every exertion to restore these exiles; and had thus another pretext for augmenting the number of his forces. 8. He then sent to the king, and requested that, as he was his brother, these cities should be given to him rather than that Tissaphernes should govern them; and in this application his mother supported him. Thus the king had no suspicion of the plot against him, but supposed that Cyrus, from being at war with Tissaphernes, was spending the money upon troops; so that he was not at all concerned at the strife between them, especially as Cyrus remitted to him the tribute arising from the cities which Tissaphernes had had.

9. Another army was collected for him in the Chersonesus opposite Abydos, in the following method. Clearchus, a Lacedæmonian, happened to be in exile. Cyrus, having met with him, was struck with admiration for him, and made him a present of ten thousand darics. Clearchus, on receiving the gold, raised by means of it, a body of troops, and making excursions out of the Chersonesus, made war upon the Thracians that are situated above the Hellespont, and was of assistance to the Greeks; so that the towns on the Hellespont willingly contributed money for the support of his men. This too was a force thus secretly maintained for Cyrus.

10. Aristippus, also, a Thessalian, happened to be a guest-friend of Cyrus, and, being pressed by an adverse faction at home, came to him, and asked him for two thousand mercenary troops, and three months' pay for them, representing that he would thus be enabled to overpower his enemies. Cyrus granted him four thousand, and six months' pay, desiring him not to terminate the strife until he should consult him. Thus another body of troops was clandestinely supported for him in Thessaly.

11. He then requested Proxenus a Bœotian, who was also his guest-friend, to join him with as many men as he could procure, stating that he intended to make war on the Pisidians, as they molested his territories. He also desired Sophænetus of Stymphalus, and Socrates, an Achæan, both of them his guest-friends, to come to him, and bring as many men as possible, pretending that he was going to war with Tissaphernes on behalf of the Milesian exiles; and they acted as he wished.

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## CHAPTER II.

Cyrus begins his march, proceeding from Sardis through Lydia into Phrygia, where he is joined by new forces. The city of Celænæ; the plain of Caystrus, where the soldiers demand their arrears of pay, which Cyrus discharges with money received from the queen of Cilicia. The town of Thymbrium; the fountain of Midas. Cyrus enters Cilicia, and is met at Tarsus by Syennesis, the king of the country.

1. WHEN it seemed to him time to march up into the country, he made it his pretext for doing so that he wished to expel the Pisidians

entirely from the territory, and mustered, as if for the purpose of attacking them, the whole of the troops, as well Barbarian as Greek, that were on the spot. He also sent word to Clearchus to join him, bringing whatever force was at his command; and to Aristippus, as soon as he had come to terms with the party at home, to send him back the troops that he had. He also desired Xenias the Arcadian, who commanded for him the mercenaries in the several towns, to bring him all his men except such as would be required to garrison the citadels. 2. He summoned, too, the army that was besieging Miletus, and invited the exiles to accompany him, on his expedition; promising them, that if he successfully accomplished the objects for which he undertook it, he would never rest until he had re-established them in their country. They cheerfully consented, as they had confidence in him, and, taking their arms, joined him at Sardis.

3. To Sardis also came Xenias, bringing with him the troops from the several towns, to the number of four thousand heavy-armed men. Thither came also Proxenus, with heavy-armed men to the number of fifteen hundred, and five hundred light-armed; Sophænetus the Stymphalian, with a thousand heavy-armed; Socrates the Achæan with five hundred; and Pasion of Megara with three hundred heavy-armed and the same number of peltasts. Both Pasion and Socrates were among those serving in the army at Miletus.

4. These joined him at Sardis. Tissaphernes, observing these proceedings, and considering

the force to be greater than was necessary to attack the Pisidians, set out, with all possible speed, to give notice of the matter to the king, taking with him about five hundred cavalry; 5. and the king, as soon as he heard from Tissaphernes of the preparations of Cyrus, made arrangements to oppose him.

Cyrus, at the head of the force which I have stated, commenced his journey from Sardis, and proceeded through Lydia, three days' march, a distance of twenty-two parasangs, as far as the river Mæander. The breadth of this river is two plethra, and a bridge was thrown over it, constructed of seven boats. 6. Having crossed the stream, he went forward through Phrygia, one day's march, eight parasangs, till he reached Colossæ, a populous city, wealthy and of considerable magnitude. Here he halted seven days; when Menon the Thessalian joined him with a thousand heavy-armed troops and five hundred peltasts, consisting of Dolopians, Ænians, and Olynthians.

7. Hence he proceeded in three days' march, a distance of twenty parasangs, to Celænæ, a populous, large, and rich city of Phrygia. Here Cyrus had a palace, and an extensive park full of wild beasts, which he was accustomed to hunt on horseback whenever he wished to give himself and his horses exercise. Through the middle of this park flows the river Mæander; its springs issue from the palace itself; and it runs also through the city of Celænæ. 8. There is also at Celænæ a palace of the Great King, situated near the source of the river Marsyas,

under the citadel. This river too runs through the city, and falls into the Mæander. The breadth of the Marsyas is twenty-five feet. Here Apollo is said to have flayed Marsyas, after conquering him in a trial of musical skill, and to have hung up his skin in the cave, where the source of the stream rises: and on this account the river is called Marsyas. 9. Xerxes is said to have built both this palace and the citadel of Celænæ, when he was returning from Greece after his discomfiture in battle.

Cyrus remained here thirty days; during which time Clearchus, the Lacedæmonian exile, joined him with a thousand heavy-armed men, eight hundred Thracian peltasts, and two hundred Cretan archers. At the same time Sosis of Syracuse arrived with three hundred heavy-armed men, and Sophænetus, an Arcadian, with a thousand. Here Cyrus held a review of the Greeks in the park, and took their number; and there were in all eleven thousand heavy-armed troops, and about two thousand peltasts. 10. Hence he proceeded two days' march, a distance of ten parasangs, to Peltæ, a well-peopled city, where he halted three days, during which Xenias the Arcadian celebrated the sacred rites of Lycæan Jove, and held public games on the occasion; in which the prizes were golden strigiles. Cyrus was present at the games as a spectator. Thence he proceeded, two days' march, twelve parasangs, to Ceramon Agora, a populous city, the last on the side of Mysia.

11. Hence he proceeded, in three days' march, the distance of thirty parasangs, to the plain of

Parasang = approx. 4 miles  
(sometimes more)

Plethrum = 100 feet

Caystrus, a populous city. Here he halted five days; and at this time more than three months' pay was due the troops, which they frequently went to his tent to demand. Cyrus put them off, giving them hopes, but was evidently distressed; for it was no part of his character not to pay when he had the means. 12. But while he was there, Epyaxa, the wife of Syennesis king of the Cilicians, paid him a visit, and was said to have presented him with a large sum of money. He in consequence gave the troops pay for four months. The Cilician queen had with her a body-guard of Cilicians and Aspendians; and it was reported that Cyrus had connexion with her.

13. Hence he proceeded two days' march, ten parasangs, to Thymbrium, a populous city. Here, by the roadside, was a fountain, called the fountain of Midas, king of Phrygia; at which Midas is said to have captured the Satyr, by mixing wine with the water.

14. Hence he proceeded, two days' march, ten parasangs, to Tyriaum, a well-peopled city, where he stayed three days. The Cilician queen is said to have requested Cyrus to show her his army. With the desire therefore of exhibiting it to her, he reviewed his troops, as well Greek as Barbarian, in the plain. 15. He ordered the Greeks to be marshalled, and to take their places, as they were accustomed to do for battle, each captain arranging his own men. They were accordingly drawn up four deep; Menon and his troops took the right wing; Clearchus and his men the left; and the other



captains occupied the centre. 16. First of all, then, Cyrus reviewed the Barbarians, who marched past him, drawn up in troops and companies; and afterwards the Greeks, riding by them in his chariot, with the Cilician queen in her car. They had all brazen helmets, scarlet tunics, greaves, and polished shields. 17. When he had ridden past them all, he stopped his chariot in front of their phalanx, and sent Pigres the interpreter to the Greek officers, with orders for them to present arms, and to advance with their whole phalanx. The officers communicated these orders to their soldiers; and, when the trumpeter gave the signal, they presented arms and advanced. Then, as they proceeded with a quicker pace and loud shouts, the soldiers of their own accord took to running, bearing down upon the tents of the Persians. 18. Upon this, there arose great terror among the rest of the Barbarians; the Cilician queen fled from her car; and the people in the market deserted their goods and took to their heels; while the Greeks marched up to the tents with laughter. The Cilician queen, on beholding the splendour and discipline of the army, was struck with admiration; and Cyrus was delighted when he saw the terror with which the Greeks inspired the Barbarians.

19. Hence he advanced, three days' march, a distance of twenty parasangs, to Iconium, the last town of Phrygia; where he halted three days. He then went forward through Lycaonia, five days' march, a distance of thirty parasangs; and this country, as being that of an enemy, he permitted the Greeks to ravage.

20. From hence Cyrus despatched the Cilician queen, by the shortest road, into Cilicia; and sent with her the troops which Menon had, and Menon himself. Cyrus, with the rest of the army, proceeded through Cappadocia, four days' march, a distance of twenty-five parasangs, to Dana, a populous, large, and wealthy city. Here he stayed three days; in the course of which he put to death a Persian, named Megaphernes, a wearer of the royal purple, and a certain other person in power, one of the provincial governors having accused them of conspiring against him.

21. They then made an attempt to enter Cilicia; but the sole entrance was a road broad enough only for a single carriage, very steep, and impracticable for an army to pass, if any one opposed them. Syennesis, besides, was said to be stationed on the heights, guarding the defile; on which account Cyrus halted for a day in the plain. The next day, a messenger came to inform him that Syennesis had quitted the heights, on receiving information that Menon's army was already in Cilicia within the mountains, and hearing that Tamos had a number of galleys, belonging to the Lacedæmonians and Cyrus himself, sailing round from Ionia to Cilicia. 22. Cyrus accordingly ascended the mountains without any opposition, and saw the tents in which the Cilicians kept guard. Hence he descended into a large and beautiful plain, well watered, and abounding with all kinds of trees, as well as vines. It also produced great quantities of sesamum, panic, millet, wheat, and

barley. A chain of hills, strong and high, encompasses it on all sides from sea to sea. 23. Descending through this plain, he proceeded, in four days' march, a distance of twenty-five parasangs, to Tarsus, a large and opulent city of Cilicia. Here was the palace of Syennesis, the king of the Cilicians; and through the midst of the city runs a river, called the Cydnus, the breadth of which is two plethra. 24. This city the inhabitants, with Syennesis, had deserted for a strong-hold upon the mountains, except those who kept shops. Those also remained behind, who lived near the sea at Soli and at Issi.

25. Epyaxa, the wife of Syennesis, had arrived at Tarsus five days before Cyrus. But in passing over the mountains which skirt the plain, two companies of Menon's troops had perished; some said that they had been cut to pieces by the Cilicians, while committing some depredations; others, that being left behind, and unable to find the rest of the army or their road, they had been destroyed while wandering about. They amounted to a hundred heavy-armed men. 26. When the rest of Menon's troops came up, full of resentment at the fate of their comrades, they plundered both the city of Tarsus and the palace in it. Cyrus, on entering the city, sent for Syennesis to come to him; but Syennesis answered, that he had never yet put himself in the power of one stronger than himself; nor would he then consent to go to Cyrus, until his wife prevailed upon him, and he received solemn assurances of safety. 27. Afterwards, when they had met, Syennesis gave

Cyrus a large sum of money for the support of his army, and Cyrus in return presented him with such gifts as are held in estimation by a king, a horse with a golden bit, a golden chain and bracelets, and a golden scimitar and Persian robe. He also engaged that his country should no more be plundered, and that he should receive back the captured slaves, if they anywhere met with them.

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### CHAPTER III.

Cyrus is forced to stay twenty days at Tarsus by a mutiny of the Greek soldiers, who, suspecting that they were led against the king, refuse to go farther, and offer violence to Clearchus, who endeavours to force them to proceed. But being told by Cyrus that the expedition is directed against Abrocomas, and promised an increase of pay, they agree to continue their march.

1. HERE Cyrus and the army remained twenty days; for the soldiers refused to proceed farther, as they now began to suspect that they were marching against the king, and said that they had not been hired for this purpose. Clearchus, first of all, endeavoured to compel his soldiers to proceed; but, as soon as he began to advance, they pelted him and his baggage-cattle with stones. 2. Clearchus, indeed, on this occasion, had a narrow escape of being stoned to death. At length, when he saw that he should not be able to proceed by force, he called a meeting of his soldiers; and at first, standing before them, he continued for some time to shed tears, while they, looking on, were struck with wonder, and remained silent. He then addressed them to this effect:

3. "Wonder not, soldiers, that I feel distressed at the present occurrences; for Cyrus engaged himself to me by ties of hospitality, and honoured me, when I was an exile from my country, both with other marks of esteem, and by presenting me with ten thousand darics. On receiving this money, I did not treasure it up for my own use, or squander it in luxury, but spent it upon you. 4. First of all, I made war upon the Thracians, and, in the cause of Greece, and with your assistance, took vengeance upon them by expelling them from the Chersonesus, when they would have taken the country from its Grecian colonists. When Cyrus summoned me, I set out to join him, taking you with me, that if he had need of my aid, I might do him service in return for the benefits that I had received from him. 5. But since you are unwilling to accompany him on this expedition, I am under the obligation, either, by deserting you, to preserve the friendship of Cyrus, or, by proving false to him, to adhere to you. Whether I shall do right, I do not know; but I shall give you the preference, and will undergo with you whatever may be necessary. Nor shall any one ever say, that, after leading Greeks into a country of Barbarians, I deserted the Greeks, and adopted, in preference, the friendship of the Barbarians.

6. "Since, however, you decline to obey me, or to follow me, I will go with you, and submit to whatever may be destined for us. For I look upon you to be at once my country, my friends, and my fellow-soldiers, and consider that with

you I shall be respected, wherever I may be: but that, if separated from you, I shall be unable either to afford assistance to a friend, or to avenge myself upon an enemy. Feel assured, therefore, that I am resolved to accompany you wherever you go."

7. Thus he spoke; and the soldiers, as well those under his own command as the others, on hearing these assurances, applauded him for saying that he would not march against the king; and more than two thousand of the troops of Xenias and Pasion, taking with them their arms and baggage, went and encamped under Clearchus.

8. Cyrus, perplexed and grieved at these occurrences, sent for Clearchus; who, however, would not go, but sending a messenger to Cyrus without the knowledge of the soldiers, bade him be of good courage, as these matters would be arranged to his satisfaction. He also desired Cyrus to send for him again, but, when Cyrus had done so, he again declined to go. 9. Afterwards, having assembled his own soldiers, and those who had recently gone over to him, and any of the rest that wished to be present, he spoke to the following effect:

"It is evident, soldiers, that the situation of Cyrus with regard to us is the same as ours with regard to him; for we are no longer his soldiers, since we refuse to follow him, nor is he any longer our paymaster. 10. That he considers himself wronged by us, however, I am well aware; so that, even when he sends for me, I am unwilling to go to him, principally from feeling

shame, because I am conscious of having been in all respects false to him; and in addition, from being afraid, that, when he has me in his power, he may take vengeance on me for the matters in which he conceives that he has been injured. 11. This, therefore, seems to me to be no time for us to sleep, or to neglect our own safety; but, on the contrary, to consider what we must do under these circumstances. As long as we remain here, it seems necessary to consider how we may best remain with safety; or, if we determine upon going at once, how we may depart with the greatest security, and how we may obtain provisions; for without these, the general and the private soldier are alike inefficient. 12. Cyrus is indeed a most valuable friend to those to whom he is a friend, but a most violent enemy to those to whom he is an enemy. He has forces, too, both infantry and cavalry, as well as a naval power, as we all alike see and know; for we seem to me to be encamped at no great distance from him. It is therefore full time to say whatever any one thinks to be best." Having spoken thus, he made a pause.

13. Upon this, several rose to speak; some, of their own accord, to express what they thought; others, previously instructed by Clearchus, to point out what difficulty there would be, either in remaining or departing, without the consent of Cyrus. 14. One of these, pretending to be eager to proceed with all possible haste to Greece, proposed that they should choose other commanders without delay, if Clearchus were

unwilling to conduct them back; that they should purchase provisions, as there was a market in the Barbarian camp, and pack up their baggage; that they should go to Cyrus, and ask him to furnish them with ships, in which they might sail home; and, if he should not grant them, that they should beg of him a guide, to conduct them back through such parts of the country as were friendly towards them. But if he would not even allow them a guide, that they should, without delay, form themselves in warlike order, and send a detachment to take possession of the heights, in order that neither Cyrus nor the Cilicians (“of whom,” said he, “we have many prisoners, and much money that we have taken,”) may be the first to occupy them. Such were the suggestions that he offered; but after him Clearchus spoke as follows:

15. “Let no one of you mention me, as likely to undertake this command; for I see many reasons why I ought not to do so; but be assured, that whatever person you may elect, I shall pay the greatest possible deference to him, that you may see that I know how to obey as well as any other man.”

16. After him another arose, who pointed out the folly of him who advised them to ask for ships, just as if Cyrus were not about to sail back, and who showed, too, how foolish it would be to request a guide of the very person “whose plans,” said he; “we are frustrating. And,” he added, “if we should trust the guide that Cyrus might assign us, what will hinder Cyrus from giving orders to occupy the heights before we



reach them? 17. For my own part, I should be reluctant to embark in any vessel that he might grant us, lest he should send us and the galleys to the bottom together; I should also be afraid to follow any guide that he may appoint, lest he should conduct us into places, from whence there would be no means of escape; and I had rather, if I depart without the consent of Cyrus, depart without his knowledge; but this is impossible. 18. I say then that such proposals are absurdities; and my advice is, that certain persons, such as are fit for the task, should accompany Clearchus to Cyrus, and ask him in what service he wishes to employ us; and if the undertaking be similar to that in which he before employed foreign troops, that we too should follow him, and not appear more cowardly than those who previously went up with him. 19. But if the present design seem greater and more difficult and more perilous than the former, that they should ask him, in that case, either to induce us to accompany him by persuasion, or, yielding himself to our persuasions, to give us a passage to a friendly country; for thus, if we accompany him, we shall accompany him as friends and zealous supporters, and if we leave him, we shall depart in safety; that they then report to us what answer he makes to this application; and that we, having heard his reply, take measures in accordance with it."

20. These suggestions were approved; and, having chosen certain persons, they sent them with Clearchus to ask Cyrus the questions agreed upon by the army. Cyrus answered, that he

had heard that Abrocomas, an enemy of his, was on the banks of the Euphrates, twelve days' march distant; and it was against him, he said, that he wished to march; and if Abrocomas should be there, he said that he longed to take due vengeance on him; but if he should retreat, "we will consider there," he added, "how to proceed."

21. The delegates, having heard this answer, reported it to the soldiers, who had still a suspicion that he was leading them against the king, but nevertheless resolved to accompany him. They then asked for an increase of pay, and Cyrus promised to give them all half as much again as they received before, that is to say, instead of a daric, three half-darics a month for every soldier. But no one heard there, at least publicly, that he was leading them against the king.

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## CHAPTER IV.

The army reaches Issi, the last city in Cilicia, at which the fleet then arrives. Cyrus proceeds into Syria, where two of the Greek captains, Xenias and Pasion, desert the expedition; the good feeling of Cyrus, in forbearing to pursue them, renders the other Greeks more willing to accompany him. He arrives at Thapsacus on the Euphrates, where he discloses the real object of his expedition to the Greek troops, who express discontent, but are induced by fresh promises, and the example of Menon, to cross the river.

1. HENCE he proceeded, two days' march, a distance of ten parasangs, to the river Psarus, the breadth of which was three plethra. He then went forward, one day's march, five parasangs, to the river Pyramus, the breadth of

which is a stadium. Hence he advanced in two days' march, a distance of fifteen parasangs, to Issi, the last city in Cilicia, situate upon the sea-coast, a populous, large, and rich place.

2. Here Cyrus remained three days, in which time the ships from Peloponnesus, thirty-five in number, arrived, Pythagoras the Lacedæmonian being their commander. But Tamos, an Egyptian, had conducted the fleet from Ephesus, who had also with him five-and-twenty other ships, belonging to Cyrus, with which he had blockaded Miletus when it was in the interest of Tissaphernes, and had fought against him on behalf of Cyrus. 3. In these vessels came also Cheiriso-phus the Lacedæmonian, who had been sent for by Cyrus, and who had with him seven hundred heavy-armed troops, which he commanded as part of the army of Cyrus. The ships were moored opposite Cyrus's tent. Here, too, the Greek mercenaries, who were in the pay of Abrocomas, four hundred heavy-armed men, deserted him and came over to Cyrus, and joined in the expedition against the king.

4. Hence he proceeded, one day's march, five parasangs, to the Gates of Cilicia and Syria. These were two fortresses; of the part within them, towards Cilicia, Syennesis and a guard of Cilicians had the charge; the part without, towards Syria, a garrison of the king's soldiers was reported to occupy. Between the two runs a river, called Carsus; a plethrum in breadth. The whole space between the fortresses was three stadia; and it was impossible to pass it by force; for the passage was very narrow, the

walls reached down to the sea, and above were inaccessible rocks. At each of the fortresses were gates. 5. It was on account of this passage that Cyrus had sent for the fleet, that he might disembark heavy-armed troops within and without the Gates, who might force a passage through the enemy, if they still kept guard at the Syrian gates; a post which he expected Abrocomas would hold, as he had under his command a numerous army. Abrocomas however did not attempt this; but, when he heard that Cyrus was in Cilicia, retreated out of Phœnicia, and proceeded to join the king, having with him, as was said, three hundred thousand men.

6. Hence he proceeded through Syria, one day's march, five parasangs, to Myriandrus, a city near the sea, inhabited by Phœnicians; this place was a public mart, and many merchant-vessels lay at anchor there. 7. Here they remained seven days; and here Xenias the Arcadian captain, and Pasion the Megarean, embarking in a vessel, and putting on board their most valuable effects, sailed away; being actuated, as most thought, by motives of jealousy, because Cyrus had allowed Clearchus to retain under his command their soldiers, who had seceded to Clearchus in the expectation of returning to Greece, and not of marching against the king. Upon their disappearance, a rumour pervaded the army that Cyrus would pursue them with ships of war; and some wished that they might be taken, as having acted perfidiously; while others pitied their fate, if they should be caught.

8. But Cyrus, calling together the captains, said to them, "Xenias and Pasion have left us: but let them be well assured, that they have not fled clandestinely; for I know which way they are gone; nor have they escaped beyond my reach; for I have triremes that would overtake their vessel. But, by the gods, I shall certainly not pursue them; nor shall any one say, that as long as a man remains with me, I make use of his services, but that, when he desires to leave me, I seize and ill-treat his person, and dispoil him of his property. But let them go, with the consciousness that they have acted a worse part towards us than we towards them. I have, indeed, their children and wives under guard at Tralles; but not even of them shall they be deprived, but shall receive them back in consideration of their former service to me." 9. Thus Cyrus spoke; and the Greeks, even such as had been previously disinclined to the expedition, when they heard of the noble conduct of Cyrus, accompanied him with greater pleasure and alacrity.

After these occurrences, Cyrus proceeded four days' march, a distance of twenty parasangs, to the river Chalus, which is a plethrum in breadth, and full of large tame fish, which the Syrians looked upon as gods, and allow no one to hurt either them or the pigeons. The villages, in which they fixed their quarters, belonged to Parysatis, having been given her for her girdle.

10. Thence he advanced, five days' march, a distance of thirty parasangs, to the source of the

river Dardes, which is a plethrum in breadth. Here was the palace of Belesys, the governor of Syria, and a very large and beautiful garden, containing all that the seasons produce. But Cyrus laid it waste, and burned the palace.

11. Hence he proceeded, three days' march, a distance of fifteen parasangs, to the river Euphrates, which is there four stadia in breadth, and on which is situated a large and rich city, named Thapsacus. The army remained there five days; and Cyrus sent for the Greek captains, and told them, that his march was directed to Babylon, against the Great King; and he desired them to make this announcement to the soldiers, and to persuade them to accompany him.

12. The leaders, assembling their troops, communicated this information to them; and the soldiers expressed themselves much displeas'd with their officers, and said that they had long known this, but conceal'd it; and they refused to go, unless such a donative was granted them, as had been given to those who had before gone up with Cyrus to his father, and that, too, when they did not go to fight, but merely attended Cyrus when his father summoned him. 13. This state of things the generals reported to Cyrus; who in consequence promised to give every man five minæ of silver, when they should arrive at Babylon, and their full pay besides, until he should bring back the Greeks to Ionia again. The greatest part of the Grecian force was thus prevail'd upon to accompany him. But before it was certain what the other soldiers would do,

whether they would accompany Cyrus or not, Menon assembled his own troops apart from the rest, and spoke as follows :

14. "If you will follow my advice, soldiers, you will, without incurring either danger or toil, make yourselves honoured by Cyrus beyond the rest of the army. What, then, would I have you do? Cyrus is at this moment urgent with the Greeks to accompany him against the king; I therefore suggest that, before it is known how the other Greeks will answer Cyrus, you should cross over the river Euphrates. 15. For if they should determine upon accompanying him, you will appear to have been the cause of it, by being the first to pass the river; and to you, as being most forward with your services, Cyrus will feel and repay the obligation, as no one knows how to do better than himself. But if the others should determine not to go with him, we shall all of us return back again; but you, as having alone complied with his wishes, and as being most worthy of his confidence, he will employ in garrison duty and post of authority; and whatever else you may ask of him, I feel assured that, as the friends of Cyrus, you will obtain it."

16. On hearing these proposals, they at once complied with them, and crossed the river before the others had given their answer. And when Cyrus perceived that they had crossed, he was much pleased, and despatched Glus to Menon's troops with this message: "I applaud your conduct, my friends; and it shall be my care that you may applaud me; or think me no longer

Cyrus." 17. The soldiers, in consequence, being filled with great expectations, prayed that he might succeed; and to Menon Cyrus was said to have sent most magnificent presents. After these transactions, he passed the river, and all the rest of the army followed him; and, in crossing the stream, no one was wetted by its waters above the breast. 18. The people of Thapsacus said, that this river had never, except on that occasion, been passable on foot, but only by means of boats; which Abrocomas, going before, had burnt, that Cyrus might not be able to cross. It seemed, therefore, that this had happened by divine interposition, and that the river had plainly made way for Cyrus as the future king.

19. Hence he advanced through Syria, nine days' march, a distance of fifty parasangs, and arrived at the river Araxes, where were a number of villages, stored with corn and wine. Here the army remained three days, and collected provisions.

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## CHAPTER V.

The army proceeds through Arabia, having the Euphrates on the right. They suffer from want of provisions, and many of the beasts of burden perish; but supplies are procured from the opposite bank of the Euphrates. A dispute occurs between Clearchus and Menon, which is quelled by Cyrus.

1. CYRUS now advanced through Arabia, having the Euphrates on his right, five days' march through the desert, a distance of thirty-five parasangs. In this region the ground was entirely a



plain, level as the sea. It was covered with wormwood, and whatever other kinds of shrub or reed grew on it, were all odoriferous as perfumes. But there were no trees. 2. There were wild animals, however, of various kinds; the most numerous were wild asses; there were also many ostriches, as well as bustards and antelopes; and these animals the horsemen of the army sometimes hunted. The wild asses, when any one pursued them, would start forward a considerable distance, and then stand still; (for they ran much more swiftly than the horse;) and again, when the horse approached, they did the same; and it was impossible to catch them, unless the horsemen, stationing themselves at intervals, kept up the pursuit with a succession of horses. The flesh of those that were taken resembled venison, but was more tender. 3. An ostrich no one succeeded in catching; and those horsemen who hunted that bird, soon desisted from the pursuit; for it far outstripped them in its flight, using its feet for running, and its wings, raising them like a sail. The bustards might be taken, if a person started them suddenly; for they fly but a short distance, like partridges, and soon tire. Their flesh was very delicious.

4. Marching through this region, they came to the river Mascas, the breadth of which is a plethrum. Here was a large deserted city, of which the name was Corsote, and which was entirely surrounded by the Mascas. Here they stayed three days, and furnished themselves with provisions.

5. Thence he proceeded, thirteen days' march through the desert, a distance of ninety parasangs, still keeping the Euphrates on the right, and arrived at a place called the Gates. In this march many of the beasts of burden perished of hunger; for there was neither grass, nor any sort of tree, but the whole country was completely bare. The inhabitants, who quarried and fashioned millstones near the river, took them to Babylon, and sold them, and lived upon corn which they bought with the money. 6. Corn, too, failed the army, and it was not possible to buy any, except in the Lydian market among Cyrus's Barbarian troops, where they purchased a capithe of wheat-flour or barley-meal for four sigli. The siglus is equivalent to seven Attic oboli and a half, and the capithe contains two Attic chœnices. The soldiers therefore lived entirely upon flesh.

7. There were some of these marches which he made extremely long, whenever he wished to get to water or forage. On one occasion, when a narrow and muddy road presented itself, almost impassable for the waggons, Cyrus halted on the spot with the most distinguished and wealthy of his train, and ordered Glus and Pigres, with a detachment of the Barbarian forces, to assist in extricating the waggons. 8. But as they appeared to him to do this too tardily, he ordered, as if in anger, the noblest Persians of his suite to assist in expediting the carriages. Then might be seen a specimen of their ready obedience; for, throwing off their purple cloaks, in the place where each happened

to be standing, they rushed forward, as one would run in a race for victory, down an extremely steep declivity, having on those rich vests which they wear, and embroidered trowsers, some too with chains about their necks and bracelets on their wrists, and, leaping with these equipments straight into the mud, brought the waggons up quicker than any one would have imagined.

9. On the whole, Cyrus evidently used the greatest speed throughout the march, and made no delay, except where he halted in order to obtain a supply of provisions, or for some other necessary purpose; thinking that the quicker he went, the more unprepared he should find the king when he engaged him, and that the more slowly he proceeded, the more numerous would be the force collected by the king. And an attentive observer might see that the empire of the king was strong indeed in extent of territory and number of inhabitants, but weak through the length of the roads, and the dispersion of its forces, if an enemy invaded it with rapid movements.

10. On the other side of the Euphrates, over against their course through the desert, was an opulent and extensive city, called Charmande; from this place the soldiers purchased provisions, crossing the river on rafts in the following manner. They filled the skins, which they had for the coverings of their tents, with dry hay, and then closed and stitched them together, so that the water could not touch the hay. Upon these they went across, and procured necessaries, such as wine made of the fruit of the palm-tree, and

panic corn; for this was most plentiful in those parts. 11. Here the soldiers of Menon and those of Clearchus falling into a dispute about something, Clearchus, judging a soldier of Menon's to be in the wrong, inflicted stripes upon him, and the man, coming to the quarters of his own troops, told his comrades what had occurred, who, when they heard it, showed great displeasure and resentment towards Clearchus. 12. On the same day, Clearchus, after going to the place where the river was crossed, and inspecting the market there, was returning on horseback to his tent through Menon's camp, with a few attendants. Cyrus had not yet arrived, but was still on his way thither. One of Menon's soldiers, who was employed in cleaving wood, when he saw Clearchus riding through the camp, threw his axe at him, but missed his aim; another then threw a stone at him, and another, and afterwards several, a great uproar ensuing. 13. Clearchus sought refuge in his own camp, and immediately called his men to arms, ordering his heavy-armed troops to remain on the spot, resting their shields against their knees, while he himself, with the Thracians, and the horsemen that were in his camp, to the number of more than forty, (and most of these were Thracians,) bore down towards the troops of Menon, so that they and Menon himself were struck with terror, and made a general rush to their arms; while some stood still, not knowing how to act under the circumstances. 14. Proxenus happened then to be coming up behind the rest, with a body of heavy-armed men following him,

and immediately led his troops into the middle space between them both, and drew them up under arms, begging Clearchus to desist from what he was doing. But Clearchus was indignant, because, when he had narrowly escaped stoning, Proxenus spoke mildly of the treatment that he had received; he accordingly desired him to stand out from between them.

15. At this juncture Cyrus came up, and inquired into the affair. He then instantly took his javelins in his hand, and rode, with such of his confidential officers as were with him, into the midst of the Greeks, and addressed them thus: 16. "Clearchus and Proxenus, and you other Greeks who are here present, you know not what you are doing. For if you engage in any contention with one another, be assured, that this very day I shall be cut off, and you also not long after me; since, if our affairs go ill, all these Barbarians, whom you see before you, will prove more dangerous enemies to us than even those who are with the king." 17. Clearchus, on hearing these remonstrances, recovered his self-possession; and both parties, desisting from the strife, deposited their arms in their respective encampments.

## CHAPTER VI.

Traces of the king's troops are perceived. Orontes, a Persian nobleman, a relation of Cyrus, offers to go forward with a body of cavalry, and lay an ambush for the king's army. Before he sets out, however, he is found out to be in correspondence with the king, and is put to death.

1. As they advanced from this place, the foot-steps and dung of horses were observed, and the track was conjectured to be that of about two thousand cavalry. These, as they went before, had burnt all the fodder, and whatever else might have been of use to Cyrus. And here Orontes, a Persian, by birth connected with the king, and reckoned one of the ablest of the Persians in the field, turned traitor to Cyrus; with whom, indeed, he had previously been at strife, but had been reconciled to him. 2. He now told Cyrus, that if he would give him a thousand horse, he would either cut off, by lying in ambush, the body of cavalry that were burning all before them, or would take the greater number of them prisoners, and hinder them from consuming everything in their way, and prevent them from ever informing the king that they had seen the army of Cyrus. Cyrus, when he heard his proposal, thought it advantageous; and desired him to take a certain number of men from each of the different commanders.

3. Orontes, thinking that he had secured the cavalry, wrote a letter to the king, saying that he would come to him with as many horse as he could obtain; and he desired him to give directions to his own cavalry to receive him as a friend.

There were also in the letter expressions reminding the king of his former friendship and fidelity to him. This letter he gave to a man, upon whom, as he believed, he could depend, but who, when he received it, carried it to Cyrus.

4. Cyrus, after reading the letter, caused Orontes to be arrested, and summoned to his own tent seven of the distinguished Persians of his staff, and desired the Greek generals to bring up a body of heavy-armed men, who should arrange themselves under arms around his tent. They did as he desired, and brought with them about three thousand heavy-armed soldiers. 5. Clearchus he called in to assist at the council, as that officer appeared, both to himself and to the rest, to be held most in honour among the Greeks. Afterwards, when Clearchus left the council, he related to his friends how the trial of Orontes was conducted; for there was no injunction of secrecy. He said, that Cyrus thus opened the proceedings:

6. "I have solicited your attendance, my friends, in order that, on consulting with you, I may do, with regard to Orontes here before you, whatever may be thought just before gods and men. In the first place, then, my father appointed him to be subject to me. And when afterwards, by the command, as he himself states, of my brother, he engaged in war against me, having possession of the citadel of Sardis, I, too, took up arms against him, and made him resolve to desist from war with me; and then I received from him, and gave him in return, the right-hand of friendship. 7. And since that occurrence,"

he continued, "is there anything in which I have wronged you?" Orontes replied that there was not. Cyrus again asked him, "And did you not then subsequently, when, as you own yourself, you had received no injury from me, go over to the Mysians, and do all the mischief in your power to my territories?" Orontes answered in the affirmative. "And did you not then," continued Cyrus, "when you had thus again proved your strength, come to the altar of Diana, and say that you repented, and, prevailing upon me by entreaties, give me, and receive from me in return, pledges of mutual faith?" This, too, Orontes acknowledged. 8. "What injury, then," continued Cyrus, "have you received from me, that you are now, for the third time, discovered in traitorous designs against me?" Orontes saying that he had received no injury from him, Cyrus asked him, "You confess, then, that you have acted unjustly towards me?" "I am necessitated to confess it," replied Orontes. Cyrus then again inquired, "And would you yet become an enemy to my brother, and a faithful friend to me?" Orontes answered, "Though I should become so, O Cyrus, I should no longer appear so to you." 9. On this, Cyrus said to those present, "Such are this man's deeds, and such his confessions. And now, do you first, O Clearchus, declare your opinion, whatever seems right to you." Clearchus spoke thus: "I advise, that this man be put out of the way with all dispatch; that so it may be no longer necessary to be on our guard against him, but that we may have leisure, as far as he is



cerned, to benefit those who are willing to be our friends." 10. In this opinion, Clearchus said, the rest concurred. Afterwards, by the direction of Cyrus, all of them, even those related to the prisoner, rising from their seats, took Orontes by the girdle, in token that he was to suffer death; when those to whom directions had been given, led him away. And when those saw him pass, who had previously been used to bow before him, they bowed before him as usual, though they knew that he was being led to execution.

11. After he had been conducted into the tent of Artapatas, the most confidential of Cyrus's sceptre-bearers, no one from that time ever beheld Orontes either living or dead, nor could any one say, from certain knowledge, in what manner he died. Various conjectures were made; but no burial-place of him was ever seen.

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## CHAPTER VII.

Cyrus enters Babylonia, and reviews his troops; he addresses the Greeks, and promises them great rewards in case of victory. He advances in order of battle, but afterwards, supposing that his brother had no immediate intention to engage, proceeds with less caution.

1. HENCE Cyrus proceeded through Babylonia, three days' march, a distance of twelve parasangs; and at the end of the third day's march, he reviewed his army, both Greeks and Barbarians, in the plain, about midnight; for he expected that with the ensuing dawn the king would come up with his army to offer him battle.

He desired Clearchus to take the command of the right wing, and Menon the Thessalian that of the left, while he himself drew up his own troops.

2. After the review, at the dawn of day, some deserters from the Great King came and gave Cyrus information respecting the royal army. Cyrus, assembling the generals and captains of the Greeks, consulted with them how he should conduct the engagement, and then encouraged them with the following exhortations: 3. "It is not, O Greeks, from any want of Barbarian forces, that I take you with me as auxiliaries; but it is because I think you more efficient and valuable than a multitude of Barbarians, that I have engaged you in my service. See, then, that you prove yourself worthy of the liberty of which you are possessed, and for which I esteem you fortunate; for be well assured, that I should prefer that freedom to all that I possess, and to other possessions many times as great. 4. But, that you may know to what sort of encounter you are advancing, I from my own experience, will inform you. The enemy's numbers are immense, and they make their onset with a loud shout; but if you are firm against this, I feel ashamed to think what sort of men, in other respects, you will find those in the country to be. But if you are true men, and prove yourselves stout-hearted, I will enable those of you, who may wish to go home, to return thither the envy of their fellow-countrymen; but I think that I shall induce most of you to prefer the advantages of remaining with me to those in your own country."

5. Upon this, Gaulites, an exile from Samos, a man in the confidence of Cyrus, being present, said, "Yet some say, O Cyrus, that you make many promises now, because you are in such a situation of approaching danger; but that if things should turn out well, you will not remember them; and some, too, say that even if you have both the memory and the will, you will not have the power of bestowing all that you promise." 6. Hearing this, Cyrus said, "We have before us, my friends, the empire that was my father's, extending, on the south, to the parts where men cannot live for heat; and on the north, to the parts where they cannot live for cold; and over all that lies between these extremes, the friends of my brother are now satraps. 7. But if we conquer, it will be proper for us to make our own friends masters of these regions. So that it is not this that I fear, that I shall not have enough to give to each of my friends, if things turn out successfully, but that I shall not have friends enough to whom I may give it. And to each of you Greeks, I will also give a golden crown."

8. The Greeks who were present, when they heard these assurances, were much encouraged, and reported what he had said to the rest. The captains, too, and some others of the Greeks, went into his tent, desiring to know for certain what would be their reward if they should be victorious; and he did not let them go without satisfying the minds of all.

9. But all, who conversed with him, urged him not to engage in the battle personally, but

take his station behind their line. About this time, also, Clearchus put a question to Cyrus to this effect: "And do you think, Cyrus, that your brother will come to battle with you?" "By Jupiter," replied Cyrus, "if he be indeed the son of Darius and Parysatis, and my brother, I shall not gain possession of these dominions without a struggle."

10. In mustering the Greeks under arms, their numbers were found to be ten thousand four hundred heavy-armed men, and two thousand four hundred peltasts; of Barbarian troops under Cyrus, there were one hundred thousand, with about twenty chariots armed with scythes.

11. Of the enemy the number was said to be one million two hundred thousand, with two hundred scythed chariots. There were, besides, six thousand cavalry, of whom Artagerses had the command; these were drawn up in front of the king himself. 12. Of the royal army there were four commanders, or generals, or leaders, each over three hundred thousand men; that is to say, Abrocomas, Tissaphernes, Gobryas, and Arbaces. But of this number only nine hundred thousand were present at the battle, and one hundred and fifty scythed chariots; for Abrocomas, who was marching from Phœnicia, did not arrive till five days after the battle.

13. This information was brought to Cyrus by some of the enemy who deserted from the Great King before the battle: and such of the enemy as were taken prisoners after the battle gave the same account.

14. Hence Cyrus proceeded one day's march,

a distance of three parasangs, with all his forces, as well Greek as Barbarian, drawn up in order of battle; for he expected that on this day the king would give him battle; as about the middle of the day's march, there was a deep trench dug; the breadth of it was five fathoms, and the depth three. 15. This ditch extended up through the plain, to the distance of twelve parasangs, as far as the wall of Media. Here are the canals which are supplied from the river Tigris; there are four of them, each a plethrum in breadth, and very deep; boats employed in conveying corn sail along them. They discharge themselves into the Euphrates, are distant from each other one parasang, and there are bridges over them. Near the Euphrates was a narrow passage between the river and the trench, about twenty feet in breadth. 16. This trench the Great King had made to serve as a defence, when he heard that Cyrus was marching against him. By this passage Cyrus and his army made their way, and got within the trench.

17. On this day the king did not come to an engagement, but there were to be seen many traces of men and horses in retreat.

18. Cyrus sent for Silanus, the Ambracian soothsayer, and gave him three thousand darics, because, on the eleventh day previous, while sacrificing, he had told Cyrus that the king would not fight for ten days; when Cyrus exclaimed, "He will not then fight at all, if he does not fight within that time; but if you shall prove to have spoken truly, I promise to give you ten talents." This money, therefore, he now paid him, the ten days having elapsed.

19. As the king made no attempt, at the trench, to prevent the passage of Cyrus's army, it was thought both by Cyrus and the rest that he had given up the intention of fighting; so that on the day following Cyrus proceeded on his march with less caution. 20. On the day succeeding that, he pursued his journey seated in his chariot, and having but a small body of troops in line before him; while the far greater part of the army observed no order on their march, and many of the soldier's arms were carried on the waggons and beasts of burden.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

The enemy are seen advancing in order of battle, and the army of Cyrus hastily prepare for action. The Greeks, in the right wing, put to flight the troops opposed to them, and pursue them to some distance. Cyrus, in the centre, directs his attack against the king, and is killed.

1. IT was now about the time of full market, and the station, where he intended to halt, was not far off, when Pategyas, a Persian, one of Cyrus's confidential adherents, made his appearance, riding at his utmost speed, with his horse in a sweat, and straightway called out to all whom he met, both in Persian and Greek, "that the king was approaching with a vast army, prepared as for battle." 2. Immediately great confusion ensued; for the Greeks and all the rest imagined that he would fall upon them suddenly, before they could form their ranks; 3. and Cyrus, leaping from his chariot, put on his

breastplate, and, mounting his horse, took his javelin in his hand, and gave orders for all the rest to arm themselves, and to take their stations each in his own place. 4. They accordingly formed with all expedition; Clearchus occupying the extremity of the right wing close to the Euphrates, Proxenus being next to him, and after him the other captains in succession. Menon and his troops occupied the left wing of the Greeks.

5. Of the Barbarian forces, about one thousand Paphlagonian cavalry were stationed near Clearchus, and the Grecian peltasts on the right; and on the left was Ariæus, Cyrus's lieutenant, with the rest of the Barbarian troops. 6. In the centre was Cyrus, and with him about six hundred cavalry, the men all armed with breastplates, defences for the thighs, and helmets, except Cyrus alone; for Cyrus presented himself for battle with his head unprotected. [It is said, too, that the other Persians expose themselves in battle with their heads uncovered.]

7. All the horses of the cavalry, that were with Cyrus, had defensive armour on the forehead and breast; and the horsemen had also Grecian swords.

8. It was now mid-day, and the enemy was not yet in sight. But when it was afternoon, there appeared a dust, like a white cloud, and not long after, a sort of blackness, extending to a great distance over the plain. Presently, as they approached nearer, brazen armour began to flash, and the spears and ranks became visible.

9. There was a body of cavalry, in white armour,

on the left of the enemy's line; (Tissaphernes was said to have the command of them;) close by these were troops with wicker shields; and next to them, heavy-armed soldiers with long wooden shields reaching to their feet; (these were said to be Egyptians;) then other cavalry and bowmen. These all marched according to their nations, each nation separately in a solid oblong. 10. In front of their line, at considerable intervals from each other, were stationed the chariots called scythed chariots; they had scythes projecting obliquely from the axletree, and others under the driver's seat, pointing to the earth, for the purpose of cutting through whatever came in their way; and the design of them was to penetrate and divide the ranks of the Greeks.

11. As to what Cyrus had said, however, when, on calling together the Greeks, he exhorted them to sustain unmoved the shout of the Barbarians, he was in this respect deceived; for they now approached, not with a shout, but with all possible silence, and quietly, with an even and slow step. 12. Cyrus in the mean time, riding by with Pigres the interpreter, and three or four others, called out to Clearchus to lead his troops against the enemy's centre, for that there was the king; "and if," said he, "we are victorious in that quarter, our object is fully accomplished." 13. But though Clearchus saw that close collection of troops in the centre of the enemy's line, and heard from Cyrus that the king was beyond the left of the Greeks, (for so much the superior was the king in numbers, that, while occupying the



middle of his own line, he was still beyond Cyrus's left,) nevertheless he was unwilling to draw off his right wing from the river, fearing lest he should be hemmed in on both sides; and in answer to Cyrus he said, "that he would take care that all should go well."

14. During this time the Barbarian army advanced with a uniform pace; and the Grecian line, still remaining in the same place, was gradually forming from those who came up from time to time. Cyrus, riding by at a moderate distance from his army, surveyed from thence both the lines, looking as well towards the enemy as to his own men. 15. Xenophon, an Athenian, perceiving him from the Grecian line, rode up to meet him, and inquired whether he had any commands; when Cyrus stopped his horse, and told him, and desired him to tell everybody, that the sacrifices and the appearances of the victims were favourable. 16. As he was saying this, he heard a murmur passing through the ranks, and asked what noise that was. He answered, "that it was the watchword, passing now for the second time." At which Cyrus wondered who had given it, and asked what the word was. He replied that it was, "JUPITER THE PRESERVER and VICTORY." 17. When Cyrus heard it, "I accept it as a good omen," said he, "and let it be so." Saying this, he rode away to his own station; and the two armies were now not more than three or four stadia distant from each other, when the Greeks sang the pæan, and began to march forward to meet the enemy. 18. And as, while they proceeded, some part of their body

fluctuated out of line, those who were thus left behind began to run : and at the same time, they all raised just such a shout as they usually raise to Mars, and the whole of them took to a running pace. Some say, that they made a noise with their spears against their shields, to strike terror into the horses. 19. But the Barbarians, before an arrow could reach them, gave way, and took to flight. The Greeks then pursued them with all their force, calling out to each other, not to run, but to follow in order. 20. The chariots, abandoned by their drivers, were hurried, some through the midst of the enemies themselves, and others through the midst of the Greeks. The Greeks, when they saw them coming, opened their ranks and let them pass ; some few, however, were startled and caught by them, as might happen in a race-course ; but these, they said, suffered no material injury ; nor did any other of the Greeks receive any hurt in this battle, except that, on the left of their army, a man was said to have been shot with an arrow.

21. Cyrus, though he saw the Greeks victorious, and pursuing those of the enemies who were opposed to them, and though he felt great pleasure at the sight, and was already saluted as king by those about him, was not, however, led away to join in the pursuit ; but keeping the band of six hundred cavalry, that were with him, drawn up in close order around him, he attentively watched how the king would proceed ; for he well knew that he occupied the centre of the Persian army. 22. All the commanders of the

Barbarians, indeed, lead their troops to battle occupying the centre of their own men; thinking that they will thus be most secure, if they have the strength of their force on either side of them, and that if they have occasion to issue orders, their army will receive them in half the time.

23. On the present occasion, the king, though he occupied the centre of his own army, was nevertheless beyond Cyrus's left wing. But as no enemy attacked him in front, or the troops that were drawn up before him, he began to wheel round, as if to enclose his adversaries. 24. Cyrus, in consequence, fearing that he might take the Greeks in the rear, and cut them in pieces, moved directly upon him, and charging with his six hundred horse, routed the troops that were stationed in front of the king, and put the guard of six thousand to flight, and is said to have killed with his own hand Artagerses, their commander.

25. When this flight of the enemy took place, Cyrus's six hundred became dispersed in the eagerness of pursuit; only a very few remaining with him, chiefly those who were called "partakers of his table."

26. While accompanied by these, he perceived the king and the close guard around him; when he immediately lost his self-command, and exclaiming, "I see the man," rushed upon him, struck him on the breast, and wounded him through the breastplate, as Ctesias, the physician, relates, stating that he himself dressed the wound, 27. As Cyrus was in the act of striking, some one hit him violently with a javelin under the

eye; and how many of those about the king were killed, (while they thus fought, the king, and Cyrus, and their respective followers in defence of each,) Ctesias relates; for he was with him; on the other side, Cyrus himself was killed, and eight of his principal officers lay dead upon his body. 28. Artapates, the most faithful servant to him of all his sceptre-bearers, when he saw Cyrus fall, is said to have leaped from his horse, and thrown himself upon the body of his master; 29. and some say, that the king ordered some one to kill him on the body of Cyrus; but others relate, that he drew his scimitar, and killed himself upon the body; for he had a golden scimitar by his side, and also wore a chain and bracelets, and other ornaments, like the noblest of the Persians; since he was honoured by Cyrus for his attachment and fidelity to him.

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## CHAPTER IX.

The character of Cyrus. All his personal friends are killed, except Ariæus, who takes to flight.

1. THUS then, died Cyrus; a man who, of all the Persians since Cyrus the elder, was the most princely and most worthy of empire, as is agreed by all who appear to have had personal knowledge of him. 2. In the first place, while he was yet a boy, and when he was receiving his education with his brother and the other youths, he was thought to surpass them all in everything. 3. For all the sons of the Persian nobles are

*Cyrus killed 401 B.C.*

educated at the gates of the king, where they may learn many a lesson of virtuous conduct, but can see or hear nothing disgraceful. 4. Here the boys see some honoured by the king, and others disgraced, and hear of them; so that in their very childhood they learn to govern and to obey.

Here Cyrus, first of all, showed himself most remarkable for modesty among those of his own age, and for paying more ready obedience to his elders than even those who were inferior to him in station; and next, he was noted for his fondness for horses, and for managing them in a superior manner. They found him, too, very desirous of learning, and most assiduous in practising the warlike exercises of archery, and hurling the javelin. 6. When it suited his age, he grew exceedingly fond of the chase, and of braving dangers in encounters with wild beasts. On one occasion, he did not shrink from a she-bear that attacked him, but, in grappling with her, was dragged from off his horse, and received some wounds, the scars of which were visible on his body, but at last killed her. The person who first came to his assistance he made a happy man in the eyes of many.

7. When he was sent down by his father, as satrap of Lydia and Great Phrygia and Cappadocia, and also appointed commander of all the troops whose duty it is to muster in the plain of Castolus, he soon showed that if he made a league or compact with any one, or gave a promise, he deemed it of the utmost importance not to break his word. 8. Accordingly the states

that were committed to his charge, as well as individuals, had the greatest confidence in him; and if any one had been his enemy, he felt secure that if Cyrus entered into a treaty with him, he should suffer no infraction of the stipulations. 9. When, therefore, he waged war against Tissaphernes, all the cities, of their own accord, chose to adhere to Cyrus in preference to Tissaphernes, except the Milesians; but they feared him, because he would not abandon the cause of the exiles; 10. for he both showed by his deeds, and declared in words, that he would never desert them, since he had once become a friend to them, not even though they should grow still fewer in number, and be in a worse condition than they were.

11. Whenever any one did him a kindness or an injury, he showed himself anxious to go beyond him in those respects; and some used to mention a wish of his, that "he desired to live long enough to outdo both those who had done him good, and those who had done him ill, in the requital that he should make." 12. Accordingly to him alone of the men of our days were so great a number of people desirous of committing the disposal of their property, their cities, and their own persons.

13. Yet no one could with truth say this of him, that he suffered the criminal or unjust to deride his authority; for he of all men inflicted punishment most unsparingly; and there were often to be seen, along the most frequented roads, men deprived of their feet, or hands, or eyes; so that in Cyrus's dominions, it was pos-

sible for any one, Greek or Barbarian, who did no wrong, to travel without fear whithersoever he pleased, and having with him whatever might suit his convenience.

14. To those who showed ability for war, it is acknowledged that he paid distinguished honour. His first war was with the Pisidians and Mysians; and, marching in person into these countries, he made those, whom he saw voluntarily hazarding their lives in his service, governors over the territory that he subdued, and distinguished them with rewards in other ways. 15. So that the brave appeared to be the most fortunate of men, while the cowardly were deemed fit only to be their slaves. There were, therefore, great numbers of persons who voluntarily exposed themselves to danger, wherever they thought that Cyrus would become aware of their exertions.

16. With regard to justice, if any appeared to him inclined to display that virtue, he made a point of making such men richer than those who sought to profit by injustice. 17. Accordingly, while in many other respects his affairs were administered judiciously, he likewise possessed an army worthy of the name. For it was not for money that generals and captains came from foreign lands to enter into his service, but because they were persuaded that to serve Cyrus well, would be more profitable than any amount of monthly pay. 18. Besides, if any one executed his orders in a superior manner, he never suffered his diligence to go unrewarded; consequently, in every undertaking, the best qualified officers were said to be ready to assist him.

19. If he noticed any one that was a skilful manager, with strict regard to justice, stocking the land of which he had the direction, and securing income from it, he would never take anything from such a person, but was ever ready to give him something in addition ; so that men laboured with cheerfulness, acquiring property with confidence, and made no concealment from Cyrus of what each possessed ; for he did not appear to envy those who amassed riches openly, but to endeavour to bring into use the wealth of those who concealed it.

20. Whatever friends he made, and felt to be well-disposed to him, and considered to be capable of assisting him in anything that he might wish to accomplish, he is acknowledged by all to have been most successful in attaching them to him. 21. For, on the very same account on which he thought that he himself had need of friends, namely, that he might have coöperators in his undertakings, did he endeavor to prove an efficient assistant to his friends in whatever he perceived any of them desirous of effecting.

22. He received, for many reasons, more presents than perhaps any other single individual ; and these he outdid every one else in distributing amongst his friends, having a view to the character of each, and to what he perceived each most needed. 23. Whatever presents any one sent him of articles of personal ornament, whether for warlike accoutrement, or merely for dress, concerning these, they said, he used to remark, that he could not decorate his own person with them all, but that he thought friends well



equipped were the greatest ornament a man could have. 24. That he should outdo his friends, indeed, in conferring great benefits, is not at all wonderful, since he was so much more able; but, that he should surpass his friends in kind attentions, and an anxious desire to oblige, appears to me far more worthy of admiration. 25. Frequently, when he had wine served him of a peculiarly fine flavour, he would send half-emptied flagons of it to some of his friends, with a message to this effect: "Cyrus has not for some time met with pleasanter wine than this; and he has therefore sent some of it to you, and begs you will drink it to-day, with those whom you love best." 26. He would often, too, send geese partly eaten, and the halves of loaves, and other such things, desiring the bearer to say, in presenting them, "Cyrus has been delighted with these, and therefore wishes you also to taste of them."

27. Wherever provender was scarce, but he himself, from having many attendants, and from the care which he took, was able to procure some, he would send it about, and desire his friends to give that provender to the horses that carried them, so that hungry steeds might not carry his friends. 28. Whenever he rode out, and many were likely to see him, he would call to him his friends, and hold earnest conversation with them, that he might show whom he held in honour; so that, from what I have heard, I should think that no one was ever beloved by a greater number of persons, either Greeks or Barbarians. 29. Of this fact the following is a

proof; that no one deserted to the king from Cyrus, though only a subject, (except that Orontes attempted to do so; but he soon found the person whom he believed faithful to him, more a friend to Cyrus than to himself,) while many came over to Cyrus from the king, after they became enemies to each other; and these, too, men who were greatly beloved by the king; for they felt persuaded, that if they proved themselves brave soldiers under Cyrus, they would obtain from him more adequate rewards for their services than from the king.

30. What occurred also at the time of his death, is a great proof, as well that he himself was a man of merit, as that he could accurately distinguish such as were trust-worthy, well disposed, and constant in their attachment. 31. For when he was killed, all his friends, and the partakers of his table, who were with him, fell fighting in his defence, except Ariæus, who had been posted, in command of the cavalry, on the left; and, when he learned that Cyrus had fallen in the battle, he took to flight, with all the troops which he had under his command.

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## CHAPTER X.

The head and right-hand of Cyrus cut off. Artaxerxes pursues Ariæus, plunders the camp of Cyrus, and then returns to attack the victorious Greeks, who put him to flight, recover what he had seized, and return to their camp.

1. THE head and right-hand of Cyrus were then cut off. The king, and the troops that

were with him, engaging in pursuit, fell upon the camp of Cyrus; when the soldiers of Ariæus no longer stood their ground, but fled through their camp to the station whence they had last started; which was said to be four parasangs distant. 2. The king and his followers seized upon many other things, and also captured the Phocæan woman, the mistress of Cyrus, who was said to be both accomplished and beautiful. 3. His younger mistress, a native of Miletus, being taken by some of the king's soldiers, fled for refuge, without her outer garment, to the party of Greeks, who were stationed under arms to guard the baggage, and who, drawing themselves up for defence, killed several of the pillagers; and some of their own number also fell; yet they did not flee, but saved not only the woman, but all the rest of the property and people that were in their quarters.

4. The king and the main body of Greeks were now distant from each other about thirty stadia, the Greeks pursuing those that had been opposed to them, as if they had conquered all; the Persians engaged in plundering, as if they were wholly victorious. 5. But when the Greeks found that the king with his troops was amongst their baggage; and the king, on the other hand, heard from Tissaphernes, that the Greeks had routed that part of his line which had been opposed to them, and were gone forward in pursuit, the king, on his part, collected his forces, and formed them in line again; while Clearchus, on the other side, calling to him Proxenus, who happened to be nearest to him, consulted with

him whether they should send a detachment to the camp, or proceed, all of them together, to relieve it. 6. In the mean time, the king was observed again approaching them, as it seemed, in their rear. The Greeks, wheeling round, prepared to receive him, in the belief that he would attack them on that quarter; the king, however, did not lead his troops that way, but led them off by the same route by which he had before passed on the outside of their left wing; taking with him both those who had deserted to the Greeks during the engagement, and Tissaphernes with the troops under his command.

7. Tissaphernes had not fled at the commencement of the engagement, but had charged through the Greek peltasts, close to the banks of the river. In breaking through, however, he killed not a single man, for the Greeks, opening their ranks, struck his men with their swords, and hurled their javelins at them. Episthenes of Amphipolis had the command of the peltasts, and was said to have proved himself an able captain. 8. Tissaphernes, therefore, when he thus came off with disadvantage, did not turn back again, but, proceeding onwards to the Grecian camp, met the king there; and thence they now returned together, with their forces united in battle-array. 9. When they were opposite the left wing of the Greeks, the Greeks feared lest they should attack them on that wing, and, enclosing them on both sides, should cut them off; they therefore thought it advisable to draw back this wing, and to put the river in their rear. 10. While they were planning this

manœuvre, the king, having passed beyond them, presented his force opposed to them, in the same form in which he had at first come to battle; and when the Greeks saw their enemies close at hand, and drawn up for fight, they again sang the pæan, and advanced upon them with much greater spirit than before. 11. The Barbarians, on the other hand, did not await their onset, but fled sooner than at first; and the Greeks pursued them as far as a certain village, where they halted; 12. for above the village was a hill, upon which the king's troops had checked their flight, and though there were no longer any infantry there, the height was filled with cavalry; so that the Greeks could not tell what was doing. They said, that they saw the royal standard, a golden eagle upon a spear, with expanded wings.

13. But as the Greeks were on the point of proceeding thither, the cavalry too left the hill; not indeed in a body, but some in one direction and some in another; and thus the hill was gradually thinned of cavalry, till at last they were all gone. 14. Clearchus, however, did not march up the hill, but, stationing his force at its foot, sent Lycius the Syracusan and another up the hill, and ordered them, after taking a view from the summit, to report to him what was passing on the other side. 15. Lycius accordingly rode thither, and having made his observations, brought word that the enemy were fleeing with precipitation. Just as these things took place, the sun set.

16. Here the Greeks halted, and piling their

arms, took some rest ; and at the same time they wondered that Cyrus himself nowhere made his appearance, and that no one else came to them from him ; for they did not know that he was killed, but conjectured that he was either gone in pursuit of the enemy, or had pushed forward to secure some post. 17. They then deliberated whether they should remain in that spot and fetch their baggage thither, or return to the camp ; and it was resolved to return, and they arrived at the tents about supper-time.<sup>e</sup> 18. Such was the conclusion of this day.

They found almost all their baggage, and whatever food and drink was with it, plundered and wasted ; the waggons, too, full of barley-meal and wine, which Cyrus had provided, in order that, if ever a great scarcity of provisions should fall upon the army, he might distribute them amongst the Grecian troops, (and the waggons, as was said, were four hundred in number,) these also the king's soldiers had plundered. 19. Most of the Greeks consequently remained supperless ; and they had also been without dinner ; for before the army had halted for dinner, the king made his appearance. In this state they passed the ensuing night.

## BOOK II.

### CHAPTER I.

The Greeks are surprised to hear of the death of Cyrus. Ariæus resolves to return to Ionia, contrary to the advice of Clearchus, who incites him to make an attempt on the throne of Persia. Artaxerxes sends a message to the Greeks; their reply.

1. How the Grecian force was collected for Cyrus, when he undertook his expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, what occurred in his march up the country, how the battle took place, how Cyrus was killed, and how the Greeks returned to their camp and went to rest, in the belief that they were completely victorious, and that Cyrus was still alive, has been related in the preceding book.

2. When it was day, the generals met together, and expressed their surprise that Cyrus had neither sent any person to give directions how they should act, nor had made his appearance himself. It seemed best to them, therefore, to pack up what baggage they had, and, arming themselves, to march forward till they could effect a junction with Cyrus. 3. But when they were on the point of starting, just as the sun was rising, there came to them Procles, the governor of Teuthrania, (who was descended from Damaratus, the Lacedæmonian,) and with him Glus, the son of Tamos, who told them that

Cyrus was dead, and that Ariæus, having fled, was, with the rest of the Barbarians, at the station whence they started the day before; and that he said he would wait for the Greeks that day, if they would come to him; but on the morrow, he said, he should set off for Ionia, from whence he had come.

4. The generals, on hearing this intelligence, and the other Greeks, on learning it from them, were grievously afflicted; and Clearchus spoke thus: "Would that Cyrus were still alive; but since he is no more, carry back word to Ariæus, that we at least are victorious over the king, and that, as you see, no enemy any longer offers us battle; and, if you had not come, we should have marched against the king; and we promise Ariæus, that, if he will come hither, we will seat him on the royal throne; for to those who conquer, it belongs also to rule." 5. Saying this, he dismissed the messengers, and sent with them Cheirisophus the Lacedæmonian, and Menon the Thessalian; for Menon himself desired to go, as he was connected with Ariæus by ties of friendship and hospitality.

6. While they departed on their mission Clearchus waited where he was; and the troops supplied themselves with food, as well as they could, from the carcasses of their baggage-cattle, slaughtering their oxen and asses; and, going a little way in front of the line, to the place where the battle was fought, they collected and used as fuel, not only the arrows, which lay in great quantities, and which the Greeks had compelled the deserters from the king to throw down, but



also the wicker shields of the Persians and the wooden ones of the Egyptians; and there were also many other light shields, and waggons emptied of their contents, to be taken away; using all which materials to cook the meat, they appeased their hunger for that day.

7. It was now about the middle of the forenoon, when some heralds arrived from the king and Tissaphernes, all of them Barbarians, except one, a Greek named Phalinus, who chanced to be with Tissaphernes, and was highly esteemed by him, for he had pretensions to skill in the exercise of heavy arms. 8. These persons having approached and asked to speak with the commanders of the Greeks, told them, "that the king, since he had gained the victory and slain Cyrus, required the Greeks to deliver up their arms, and go to the gates of the king, and try to obtain, if they could, some favour from him."

9. Thus spoke the king's heralds; and the Greeks heard them with no small concern; but Clearchus only said, "that it was not the part of conquerors to deliver up their arms: but," he continued, "do you, fellow-captains, give these men such an answer as you think most honorable and proper; and I will return immediately;" for one of the attendants just then called him away to inspect the entrails which had been taken out of the victim, as he happened to be engaged in sacrifice. 10. Cleanor the Arcadian, the oldest of them, then answered, that "they would die before they would deliver up their arms." "For my part," said Proxenus the Theban, "I wonder, Phalinus,

whether it is as conqueror that the king asks for our arms, or as gifts in friendship; for if as conqueror why should he ask for them at all, and not rather come and take them? But if he wishes to get them by persuasion, let him say what will be left to the soldiers, if they gratify him in this particular." 11. To this Phalinus replied, "The king considers himself the conqueror, since he has slain Cyrus. For who is there now that disputes the sovereignty with him? And he also looks upon yourselves as his captives, having you here in the middle of his dominions, and enclosed within impassable rivers; and being able to lead such multitudes against you, as, though he gave them into your power, it would be impossible for you to destroy."

12. After him, Theopompus, an Athenian, spoke thus: "O Phalinus, we have now, as you see, nothing to avail us, except our arms and our valour. While we retain our arms, we may hope to profit by our valour; but if we were to give them up, we should expect to be deprived also of our lives. Do not suppose, therefore, that we shall give up to you the only things of value that we possess; but, with these in our hands, we will even fight for whatever of value you possess." 13. On hearing him speak thus, Phalinus smiled and said, "You seem like a philosopher, young man, and express yourself not without grace; but be assured that you are out of your senses if you imagine that your valour will prove victorious over the might of the king." 14. But it was reported that certain others of the generals, giving way to their fears,

said that they had been faithful to Cyrus, and might likewise prove of great service to the king, if he were willing to become their friend; and that whether he might wish to employ them in any other service, or in an expedition against Egypt, they would assist him in reducing it."

15. In the mean time Clearchus returned, and asked whether they had yet given their answer. Phalinus, in reply, said, "Your companions, O Clearchus, give each a different answer; and now tell us what you have to say." 16. Clearchus then said, "I was glad to see you, O Phalinus, and so, I dare say, were all the rest of us; for you are a Greek, as we also are; and, being so many in number as you see, and placed in such circumstances, we would advise with you how we should act with regard to the message that you bring. 17. Give us then, I entreat you by the gods, such advice as seems to you most honorable and advantageous, and such as will bring you honour in time to come, when it is related, that Phalinus, being once sent from the king to require the Greeks to deliver up their arms, gave them, when they consulted him, such and such counsel; for you know that whatever counsel you do give, will necessarily be reported in Greece."

18. Clearchus craftily threw out this suggestion, with the desire that the very person who came as an envoy from the king, should advise them not to deliver up their arms, in order that the Greeks might be led to conceive better hopes. But Phalinus, adroitly evading the appeal, spoke, contrary to his expectation, as follows: 19. "If,

out of ten thousand hopeful chances, you have any single one, of saving yourselves by continuing in arms against the king, I advise you not to deliver up your arms; but if you have not a single hope of safety in opposing the king's pleasure, I advise you to save yourselves in the only way in which it is possible." 20. Clearchus rejoined, "Such, then, is your advice; but on our part return this answer, that we are of opinion, that, if we are to be friends with the king, we shall be more valuable friends if we retain our arms, than if we surrender them to another; but that if we must make war against him, we should make war better if we retain our arms, than if we give them up to another." 21. Phalinus said, "This answer, then, we will report: but the king desired us also to inform you, that while you remain in this place, a truce is to be considered as existing between him and you; but, if you advance or retreat, there is to be war. Give us, therefore, your answer on this point also; whether you will remain here, and a truce is to exist, or whether I shall announce from you, that there is war." 22. Clearchus replied, "Report, therefore, on this point also, that our resolution is the same as that of the king." "And what is that?" said Phalinus. Clearchus replied, "If we stay here, a truce; but if we retreat or advance, war." 23. Phalinus again asked him, "Is it a truce or war that I shall report?" Clearchus again made the same answer: "A truce, if we stay, and if we retreat or advance, war." But of what he intended to do, he gave no intimation.

## CHAPTER II.

The Greeks, joining Ariæus, form an alliance with him, and take counsel with him in reference to their return. During the night following the first day's march they are seized with a panic, which Clearchus allays.

1. PHALINUS and his companions departed; and there now returned, from their interview with Ariæus, Procles and Cheirisophus; Menon had remained there with Ariæus. They reported, "that Ariæus said that there were many Persians, of superior rank to himself, who would not endure that he should be king; but," he adds, "if you wish to return with him, he desires you to come to him this very night; if you do not, he says that he will set out by himself early in the morning." 2. Clearchus rejoined, "And we must certainly do as you say, if we determine to go to him; but if not, adopt for yourselves such measures as you may think most for your advantage;" for not even to them did he disclose what he intended to do.

3. But afterwards, when the sun was setting, having assembled the generals and captains, he spoke as follows: "My friends, when I offered a sacrifice with reference to marching against the king, the signs of the victims were not favourable, and indeed it was with good cause that they were not so; for as I now learn, there is between us and the king the river Tigris, a navigable river, which we could not cross without vessels; and vessels we have none. Yet it is not possible to remain here; for we have no means of procuring provisions. But for going

to the friends of Cyrus, the sacrifices were extremely favourable. 4. We must accordingly proceed thus: when we separate, we must sup, each of us on what he has; when the signal is given with the horn as if for going to rest, proceed to pack up your baggage; when it sounds the second time, place it on your baggage-cattle; and, at the third signal, follow him who leads the way, keeping your baggage-cattle next the river, and the heavy-armed troops on the outside." 5. The generals and captains, after listening to this address, went away, and did as he directed; and thenceforth he commanded, and the others obeyed, not indeed having elected him commander, but perceiving that he alone possessed such qualifications as a leader ought to have, and that the rest of them were comparatively inexperienced.

6. The computation of the route which they had come from Ephesus in Ionia to the field of battle, was ninety-three days' march, and five hundred and thirty-five parasangs, or sixteen thousand and fifty stadia; and the distance from the field of battle to Babylon was said to be three hundred and sixty stadia.

7. Here, as soon as it was dark, Miltocythes the Thracian deserted to the king, with about forty horse that he commanded, and nearly three hundred of the Thracian infantry. 8. Clearchus led the way for the rest, in the prescribed order; and they followed, and arrived at the first halting-place, to join Ariæus and his troops about midnight; and the generals and captains of the Greeks, having drawn up their men under arms,

went in a body to Ariæus ; when the Greeks on the one hand, and Ariæus and his principal officers on the other, took an oath not to betray each other, and to be true allies ; and the Barbarians took another oath, that they would lead the way without treachery. 9. These oaths they took after sacrificing a bull, a wolf, a boar, and a ram, over a shield, the Greeks dipping a sword, and the Barbarians a lance, into the blood.

10. When these pledges of mutual fidelity were given, Clearchus said : “ Since then, Ariæus, our route and yours is now the same, tell us, what is your opinion with respect to our course ; whether we shall return the way we came, or whether you consider that you have thought of a better way.” 11. Ariæus replied : “ If we were to return the way we came, we should all perish of hunger ; for we have now no supply of provisions ; and for the last seventeen days’ march, even when we were coming hither, we could procure nothing from the country through which we passed ; or, if anything was to be found there, we consumed it ourselves in our passage. But now we propose to take a longer road, but one in which we shall not want for provisions. 12. We must make the first days’ marches as long as we can, that we may remove ourselves to the greatest possible distance from the king’s army ; for if we once escape two or three days’ journey from him, the king will no longer be able to overtake us ; since he will not dare to pursue us with a small force ; and, with a numerous army, he will not

be able to march fast enough, and will probably experience a scarcity of provisions. "Such," he concluded, "is my opinion."

13. This scheme for conducting the army was calculated for nothing else than to effect an escape, clandestinely or openly, by flight. But fortune proved a better leader; for as soon as it was day they began their march, with the sun on their right, expecting to arrive about sunset at some villages in the Babylonian territory; and in this expectation they were not disappointed. 14. But, in the afternoon, they thought that they perceived some of the enemy's cavalry; and those of the Greeks who happened not to be in their ranks, ran to their places in the ranks; and Ariæus (for he was riding in a waggon because he had been wounded) came down and put on his armour, as did those who were with him. 15. But while they were arming themselves, the scouts that had been sent forward returned, and reported that they were not cavalry, but baggage-cattle grazing; and every one immediately concluded that the king was encamped somewhere near. Smoke also was seen rising from some villages not far distant. 16. Clearchus however did not lead his troops against the enemy; (for he was aware that his soldiers were tired and in want of food; and besides it was now late;) yet he did not turn out of his way, taking care not to appear to flee, but continued his march in a direct line, and took up his quarters with his vanguard, just at sunset, in the nearest villages, from which even the wood-work of the houses had been carried off by the



king's troops. 17. These, therefore, who were in advance, encamped with some degree of regularity; but those who followed, coming up in the dark, took up with such quarters as they chanced to find, and made so much noise in calling to each other, that even the enemy heard them; and those of the enemy stationed nearest, fled from their encampments. 18. That this had been the case, became apparent on the following day; for there was no longer a single beast of burden to be seen, nor any camp, nor smoke anywhere near. The king had been alarmed, as it seemed, by the sudden approach of the Grecian army; and of this he gave proof by what he did on the following day.

19. However in the course of this night, a panic fell upon the Greeks themselves, and there arose such noise and commotion in their camp as usually ensues on the occurrence of sudden terror. 20. Upon this, Clearchus ordered Tolmides, an Eleian, whom he happened to have with him, the best herald of his time, to command silence; and proclaim, that "the generals give notice, that whoever will give information of the person who turned the ass among the arms, shall receive a reward of a talent of silver." 21. On this proclamation being made, the soldiers were convinced that their alarm was groundless, and their generals were safe. At break of day, Clearchus issued orders for the Greeks to form themselves under arms, in the same order in which they had been when the battle took place.

## CHAPTER III.

The king proposes a truce, and supplies the Greeks with provisions during the negotiation. Three days after he sends Tissaphernes to them, to ask why they had engaged in hostilities against him; he is answered by Clearchus. A treaty is then concluded, the king engaging to send home the Greeks under the conduct of Tissaphernes, and the Greeks promising to do no injury to the countries through which they should pass.

1. WHAT I just now stated, that the king was alarmed at the approach of the Greeks, became evident by what followed; for though, when he sent to them on the preceding day, he desired them to deliver up their arms, he now, at sunrise, sent heralds to negotiate a truce.

2. These heralds, upon arriving at the outposts, requested to speak with the commanders. Their request being reported by the guards, Clearchus, who happened then to be inspecting the several divisions, told the guards to desire the heralds to wait till he should be at leisure.

3. When he had arranged the army in such a manner as to present on every side the fair appearance of a compact phalanx, and so that none of the unarmed were to be seen, he called for the heralds and came forward himself, having about him the best-armed and the best-looking of his soldiers, and told the other leaders to do the same.

4. When he drew near the messengers, he asked them what they wanted. They replied, "that they came to negotiate a truce, with full powers to communicate with the Greeks on behalf of the king, and with the king on behalf of the Greeks."

5. Clearchus answered, "Tell the king, then, that we must come to

battle first; for we have no breakfast; and there is no one who will dare to talk to the Greeks of a truce, without first supplying them with breakfast."

6. On hearing this answer, the messengers departed, but soon returned; from whence it was apparent that the king, or some other person to whom a commission had been given to conduct the negotiation, was somewhere near. They brought word, "that the king thought what they said was reasonable, and that they now came with guides, who, in case the truce should be settled, would conduct the Greeks to a place where they might procure provisions."

7. Clearchus then inquired, whether the king would grant the benefit of the truce to those only who went to him, on their way thither and back, or whether the truce would be with the rest as well. The messengers replied, "With all; until what you have to say is communicated to the king." 8. When they had said this, Clearchus, directing them to withdraw, deliberated with the other officers; and they proposed to conclude the truce at once, and to go after the provisions at their ease, and supply themselves. 9. And Clearchus said, "I too am of that opinion. I will not, however, announce our determination immediately, but will wait till the messengers begin to be uneasy lest we should determine not to conclude the truce. And yet," said he, "I suspect that a similar apprehension will arise among our own soldiers." When he thought therefore that the proper time had arrived, he announced to the messengers that he

agreed to the truce, and desired them to conduct him forthwith to the place where the provisions were.

10. They accordingly led the way; and Clearchus proceeded to conclude the truce, keeping his army however in battle array; the rear he brought up himself. They met with ditches and canals so full of water that they could not cross without bridges; but they made crossings of the palm-trees which had fallen, and others which they cut down. 11. Here it might be seen how Clearchus performed the duties of a commander, holding his spear in his left hand, and a staff in his right; and if any of those ordered to the work seemed to him to loiter at it, he would select a fit object for punishment, and give him a beating, and would lend his assistance himself, leaping into the midst, so that all were ashamed not to share his industry. 12. The men of thirty and under only had been appointed by him to the work; but the older men, when they saw Clearchus thus busily employed, gave their assistance likewise. 13. Clearchus made so much the more haste, as he suspected that the ditches were not always so full of water; (for it was not the season for irrigating the ground;) but thought that the king had let out the water upon the plain, in order that even now there might appear to the Greeks to be many difficulties in the march.

14. Proceeding on their way, they arrived at some villages, from which the guides signified that they might procure provisions. In these villages there was great plenty of corn, and wine

made from dates, and an acidulous drink obtained from them by boiling. 15. As to the dates themselves, such as those we see in Greece were here put aside for the use of the servants; but those which were laid by for their masters, were choice fruit, remarkable for beauty and size; their colour was not unlike that of amber; and some of these they dried and preserved as sweetmeats. These were a pleasant accompaniment to drink, but apt to cause headache. 16. Here too the soldiers for the first time tasted the cabbage from the top of the palm-tree, and most of them were agreeably struck both with its external appearance and the peculiarity of its sweetness. But this also was exceedingly apt to give headache. The palm-tree, out of which the cabbage had been taken, soon withered throughout.

17. In this place they remained three days, when Tissaphernes arrived from the Great King, and with him the brother of the king's wife, and three other Persians; and a numerous retinue attended them. The generals of the Greeks having met them on their arrival, Tissaphernes first spoke by an interpreter, to the following effect: 18. "I myself dwell, O Greeks, in the neighbourhood of your country; and when I perceived you fallen into many troubles and difficulties, I thought it a piece of good fortune if I could in any way press a request upon the king to allow me to conduct you in safety back to Greece. For I think that such a service would be attended with no want of gratitude either from yourselves or from Greece

in general. 19. With these considerations, I made my request to the king, representing to him that he might reasonably grant me this favour, because I had been the first to give him intelligence that Cyrus was marching against him, and at the same time that I brought him the intelligence, had come to him with an auxiliary force; because I alone, of all those opposed to the Greeks, did not flee, but, on the contrary, charged through the midst of them, and joined the king in your camp, whither he came after he had slain Cyrus; and because, together with these who are now present with me, and who are his most faithful servants, I engaged in pursuit of the Barbarian part of Cyrus's army. 20. The king promised to consider of my request; and in the mean time desired me to come and ask you, on what account it was that you took the field against him; and I advise you to answer with moderation, in order that it may be easier for me to secure you whatever advantage I can from the king."

21. The Greeks then withdrew, and, after some deliberation, gave their answer, Clearchus speaking for them: "We neither formed ourselves into a body, with the view of making war upon the king, nor, when we set out, was our march directed against him; but Cyrus, as you yourself are well aware, devised many pretences for his proceedings, that he might both take you by surprise, and lead us up hither. 22. But when we afterwards saw him in danger, we were ashamed, in the face of gods and men, to desert him, as we had before allowed him to bestow

favours upon us. 23. As Cyrus, however, is now dead, we neither dispute the sovereignty with the king, nor is there any reason why we should desire to do harm to the king's territory; nor would we wish to kill him, but would proceed homeward, if no one molest us; but we will endeavour, with the aid of the gods, to avenge ourselves on any one that may do us an injury; while, if any one does us good, we shall not be behind-hand in requiting him to the utmost of our power." Thus spoke Clearchus. 24. Tissaphernes, having heard him, said, "I will report your answer to the king, and bring back to you his reply; and till I return, let the truce remain in force; and we will provide a market for you."

25. On the following day he did not return; so that the Greeks began to be anxious; but on the third day he came, and said, that he returned after having obtained the king's permission to be allowed to save the Greeks; although many spoke against it, saying that it did not become the king to suffer men to escape who had engaged in war against him. 26. In conclusion he said, "You may now receive from us solemn promises that we will render the country, through which you will pass, friendly to you; and will, without treachery, conduct you back to Greece, affording you opportunities of purchasing provisions; and wheresoever we do not afford you an opportunity of purchasing, we will allow you to take for yourselves necessaries from the adjacent country. 27. On the other hand, it will be incumbent upon you to swear to

us, that you will march, as through a friendly territory, without doing harm, only taking a supply of meat and drink, whenever we do not give you an opportunity of purchasing, but that if we give you such opportunity, you will procure your supplies by purchase." 28. These conditions were assented to; and they took the oaths, and Tissaphernes and the brother of the king's wife gave their right-hands to the generals and captains of the Greeks, and received from the Greeks theirs in return. 29. After this, Tissaphernes said, "And now I shall go back to the king; and as soon as I have accomplished what I wish, I will come again, after making the necessary preparations, for the purpose of conducting you back to Greece, and returning myself to my province."

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#### CHAPTER IV.

The Greeks conceive distrust both of Tissaphernes and Ariæus, and resolve to march apart from the Persians. They commence their march under the guidance of Tissaphernes, pass the wall of Media, and cross the Tigris.

1. AFTER these occurrences, the Greeks and Ariæus, encamping near each other, waited for Tissaphernes more than twenty days; in the course of which there came to visit Ariæus both his brothers and other relations, and certain other Persians, to see his companions, and gave them encouraging hopes; some too were the bearers of assurances from the king, that he would not remember to their disadvantage their



expedition against him under Cyrus, or anything else that was past. 2. On these things taking place, the followers of Ariæus evidently began to pay the Greeks less attention; so that, on this account, they rendered most of the Greeks dissatisfied with them; and many of them, going to Clearchus and the other generals, said, 3. "Why do we remain here? are we not aware that the king would wish above all things to destroy us, in order that a dread of going to war with the Great Monarch may fall upon the rest of the Greeks? For the present, he craftily protracts our stay, because his forces are dispersed; but, when his army is re-assembled, it is not possible but that he will attack us. 4. Perhaps, too, he is digging some trench, or building some wall, that the way may be rendered impassable; for he will never consent, at least willingly, that we should go back to Greece, and relate how so small a number as we are have defeated the king at his own gates, and returned after setting him at nought."

5. To those who thus addressed him, Clearchus answered, "I have been considering all these things as well; but I think that, if we now go away, we shall be thought to go with a view to war, and to act contrary to the terms of the truce. Moreover, in the first place, there will be no one to provide us a market, or any means of procuring provisions; and, in the next place, there will be no one to guide us; besides, the moment that we do this, Ariæus will separate himself from us, so that not a friend will be left us; and, what is more, our former friends

will then become our enemies. 6. Whether there is any other river for us to cross, I do not know; but as for the Euphrates, we know that it is impossible to cross that, if the enemy try to prevent us. Nor yet, if it should be necessary to fight, have we any horse to support us; while the enemy's cavalry is most numerous and efficient; so that, though we were victorious, how many of our enemies should we be able to kill? And, if we were defeated, it would not be possible for a man of us to escape. 7. With regard to the king, therefore, who is aided by so many advantages, I know not, if he wishes to effect our destruction, why he should swear, and give his right-hand, and perjure himself before the gods, and render his pledges faithless both to Greeks and Barbarians." He said much besides to the same effect.

8. In the mean time Tissaphernes arrived, with his army, as if with the view of returning home; and Orontes came with his army. Orontes also brought with him the king's daughter, whom he had received in marriage. 9. From hence they now proceeded on their march, Tissaphernes being their guide, and securing them opportunities of buying provisions; Ariæus also, with the Barbarian troops of Cyrus, marched in company with Tissaphernes and Orontes, and encamped in common with them. 10. But the Greeks, conceiving a suspicion of these men, began to march by themselves, taking guides of their own; and they always encamped at the distance of a parasang, or little less, from each other; and both parties kept on their guard against one

another, as if they had been enemies, and this consequently increased their mistrustful feelings.

11. More than once, too, as they were gathering fuel, or collecting grass and other such things, in the same quarter, they came to blows with each other; and this was an additional source of animosity between them.

12. After marching three days, they arrived at the wall of Media, as it is called, and passed to the other side of it. This wall was built of burnt bricks, laid in bitumen; it was twenty feet in thickness, and a hundred in height, and the length of it was said to be twenty parasangs; and it was not far distant from Babylon. 13. Hence they proceeded, in two days' march, the distance of eight parasangs; crossing two canals, the one by a permanent bridge, the other by a temporary one formed of seven boats. These canals were supplied by the river Tigris; and from one to the other of them were cut ditches across the country, the first of considerable size, and the next smaller; and at last diminutive drains, such as are cut in Greece through the panic fields. They then arrived at the Tigris; near which there was a large and populous city, called Sitace, distant from the banks of the river only fifteen stadia. 14. In the neighbourhood of this city the Greeks encamped, close to an extensive and beautiful park, thickly planted with all kinds of trees. The Barbarians, though they had but just crossed the Tigris, were no longer in sight.

15. After supper Proxenus and Xenophon happened to be walking in front of the place

where the arms were piled, when a man approached, and enquired of the sentinels where he could see Proxenus or Clearchus. But he did not ask for Menon, though he came from Ariæus, Menon's intimate friend. 16. Proxenus replying, "I am the person whom you seek," the man said, "Ariæus and Artaozus, the faithful friends of Cyrus, who are interested for your welfare, have sent me to you, and exhort you to beware lest the Barbarians should fall upon you in the night; for there is a considerable body of troops in the adjoining park. 17. They also advise you to send a guard to the bridge over the Tigris, as Tissaphernes designs to break it down in the night, if he can, in order that you may not be able to cross the river, but may be hemmed in between the river and the canal." 18. On hearing the man's message, they conducted him to Clearchus, and told him what he had said. When Clearchus heard it he was greatly agitated and alarmed.

19. But a young man, one of those who were present, after reflecting a little on the matter, observed, "that the imputed designs of making an attack, and of breaking down the bridge, were not consistent; for," said he, "if they attack us, they must certainly either conquer or be conquered; if then they are to conquer us, why should they break down the bridge? for even though there were many bridges, we have no place where we could save ourselves by flight; 20. but if, on the other hand, we should conquer them, then, if the bridge is broken down, they will have no place of retreat; nor

will any of their friends on the other side of the river, however numerous, be able to come to their assistance when the bridge is destroyed.”

21. After listening to these observations, Clearchus asked the messenger what was the extent of the country that lay between the Tigris and the canal. He replied, “that it was of considerable extent, and that there were several villages and large towns in it.” 22. It was then immediately concluded, that the Barbarians had sent this man with an underhand object, being afraid lest the Greeks, having taken to pieces the bridge, should remain in the island, where they would have, as defences, the river Tigris on the one side, and the canal on the other; and might procure a sufficient supply of provisions from the country which lay between, and which was extensive and fertile, with people in it to cultivate it; and which would also serve as a place of refuge to any that might be inclined to annoy the king.

23. They then prepared for rest, but did not neglect, however, to send a guard to the bridge; but neither did any one attempt to attack them on any quarter, nor did any of the enemies come near the bridge, as those who were stationed on guard there reported.

24. As soon as it was day they crossed the bridge, which was constructed of thirty-seven boats, with every precaution in their power; for some of the Greeks, who came from Tissaphernes, stated that the enemy meant to attack them as they were crossing; but this report was also false. However, as they were going over, Glus

made his appearance, with some others, watching to see if they were crossing the river; and when they saw they were, he immediately rode away.

25. From the Tigris they proceeded, in four days' march, a distance of twenty parasangs, to the river Phycus, which was a plethrum in breadth, and over which was a bridge. Here was situate a large town, called Opis; near which an illegitimate brother of Cyrus and Artaxerxes, who was leading a numerous army from Susa and Ecbatana, with the intention of assisting the king, met the Greeks, and, ordering his troops to halt, took a view of the Greeks as they passed by. 26. Clearchus marched his men two abreast, and halted occasionally on the way; and as long as the van of the army halted, so long there was necessarily a halt throughout the whole of the line; so that even to the Greeks themselves their army seemed very large, and the Persians was amazed at the sight of it.

27. Hence they proceeded through Media, six days' march through a desert country, a distance of thirty parasangs, when they arrived at the villages of Parysatis, the mother of Cyrus and the king; which Tissaphernes, in mockery of Cyrus, gave permission to the Greeks to plunder of everything except the slaves. There was found in them a great quantity of corn, and sheep, and other property. 28. Hence they advanced in a march of five days more through the desert, a distance of twenty parasangs, having the Tigris on their left. At the end of the

first day's march there was situate on the opposite bank of the river a large and opulent city, called Cænæ, whence the Barbarians brought over, on rafts made of hide a supply of bread, cheese, and wine.

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## CHAPTER V.

After a three days' halt on the river Zabatus, Clearchus endeavours to put an end to the distrust between the Persians and the Greeks by an interview with Tissaphernes. He is received so plausibly that he is induced to return on the following day, accompanied by five other generals and twenty captains, in expectation of being informed of the persons who had excited, by false reports, ill feelings between the two armies. The generals are conducted into the tent and put to death; the captains and those with them are massacred on the outside, one only escaping to tell the tale. Ariæus calls on the rest of the Greeks to surrender their arms, but is answered with defiance.

1. SOON after, they arrived at the river Zabatus, the breadth of which was four plethra. Here they remained three days; during which the same suspicions continued, but no open indications of treachery appeared. 2. Clearchus therefore resolved to have a meeting with Tissaphernes, and, if it was at all possible, to put a stop to these suspicions, before open hostilities should arise from them. He accordingly sent a person to say, that he wished to have a meeting with Tissaphernes; who at once requested him to come. 3. When they met, Clearchus spoke as follows: "I am aware, O Tissaphernes, that oaths have been taken, and right-hands pledged between us, that we will do no injury to each other: nevertheless, I observe you on your

guard against us, as though we were enemies; and we, perceiving this, stand on our guard against you. 4. But since, upon attentive observation, I can neither detect you in any attempt to injure us, and, since, as I am certain, we have no such intentions towards you, it seemed proper for me to come to a conference with you, that we may put an end, if we can, to our distrust of one another. 5. For I have, before now, known instances of men, who, being in fear of another, some through direct accusations, and others through mere suspicion, have, in their eagerness to act before they suffered, inflicted irremediable evils upon those who neither intended nor wished anything of the kind. 6. Thinking, therefore, that such misunderstandings may be best cleared up by personal communications, I have come here, and am desirous to convince you that you have no just ground for mistrusting us. 7. In the first and principal place, the oaths, which we have sworn by the gods, forbid us to be enemies to each other; and I should never consider him to be envied who is conscious of having disregarded such obligations; for from the vengeance of the gods I know not with what speed any one could flee so as to escape, or into what darkness he could steal away, or how he could retreat into any stronghold, since all things, in all places, are subject to the gods; and they have power over all everywhere alike. 8. Such are my sentiments respecting the gods, and the oaths which we swore by them, in whose keeping we deposited the friendship that we cemented; but



among human advantages, I, for my own part, consider you to be the greatest that we at present possess; 9. for with your assistance, every road is easy, every river is passable, and there will be no want of provisions; but without you all our way would lie through darkness, (for we know nothing of it,) every river would be difficult to pass, and every multitude of men would be terrible; but solitude most terrible of all, as it is full of extreme perplexity: 10. And even if we should be so mad as to kill you, what else would be the consequence, than that, having slain our benefactor, we should have to contend with the king as your most powerful avenger? For my own part, of how many and how great expectations I should deprive myself, if I attempted to do you any injury, I will make you acquainted. 11. I was desirous that Cyrus should be my friend, as I thought him, of all the men of his time, the most able to benefit those whom he wished to favour. But I now see that you are in the possession both of the power and the territory of Cyrus, while you still retain your own province, and that the power of the king, which was opposed to Cyrus, is ready to support you. 12. Such being the case, who is so mad as not to wish to be your friend?

“But I will mention also the circumstances from which I derive hopes that you will yourself desire to be our friend. 13. I am aware that the Mysians give you much annoyance, and these, I have no doubt, I should be able, with my present force, to render subservient to you;

I am aware also that the Pisidians molest you; and I hear that there are many such nations besides, which I think I could prevent from ever disturbing your tranquility. As for the Egyptians, against whom I perceive you are most of all incensed, I do not see what auxiliary force you could use to chastise them better than that which I now have with me. 14. If, again, among the states that lie around you, you were desirous to become a friend to any one, you might prove the most powerful of friends; and if any of them gave you any annoyance, you might, by our instrumentality, deal with them as a master, as we should serve you not for the sake of pay merely, but from gratitude, which we should justly feel towards you if we were saved by your means. 15. When I consider all these things, it appears to me so surprising that you should distrust us, that I would most gladly hear the name of him who is so persuasive a speaker as to make you believe that we are forming designs against you."

Thus spoke Clearchus. Tissaphernes replied as follows: 16. "I am delighted, O Clearchus, to hear your judicious observations; for, with these sentiments, if you were to meditate anything to my injury, you would appear to be at the same time your own enemy. But that you may be convinced that you have no just cause for distrusting either the king or me, listen to me in your turn. 17. If we wished to destroy you, do we appear to you to be deficient in numbers either of cavalry or infantry, or in warlike equipments, with the aid of which we

might be able to do you injury, without danger of suffering any in return? 18. Or do we seem to you likely to be in want of suitable places to make an attack upon you? Are there not so many plains, which, as the inhabitants of them are friendly to us, you traverse with exceeding toil? See you not so many mountains before you to be crossed, which we might, by pre-occupying them, render impassable to you? Or are there not so many rivers, at which we might parcel you out, as many at a time as we might be willing to engage? Some of these rivers, indeed, you could not cross at all, unless we secured you a passage. 19. But even supposing that we were baffled in all these points, yet fire at least would prove its power over the produce of the soil; by burning which, we could set famine in array against you, which, though you were the bravest of the brave, you would find it difficult to withstand. ✓20. How then, having so many means of waging war with you, and none of them attended with danger to ourselves, should we select from amongst them all this mode, the only one that is impious in the sight of the gods, the only one that is disgraceful in the sight of men? 21. It belongs, altogether, to men who are destitute of means, deprived of every resource, and under the coercion of necessity, and at the same time devoid of principle, to seek to effect their purposes by perjury towards the gods, and breach of faith towards men. We, O Clearchus, are not so foolish or so inconsiderate; 22. or why, when we have the opportunity of effecting your destruction, have we made no

such attempt? Be well assured, that the cause of this was my desire to prove myself faithful to the Greeks, and, in consequence of doing them service, to return supported by that very body of foreign troops, to whom Cyrus, when he went up, trusted only on account of the pay that he gave them. 23. As to the particulars in which you will be of service to me, some of them you have enumerated, but of the greatest of all I am myself fully conscious; for though it is permitted to the king alone to wear the turban upright on the head, yet perhaps another than he may, with your assistance, wear that upright which is on the heart."

24. Tissaphernes, in speaking thus, seemed to Clearchus to speak with sincerity, and he replied, "Do not those, then, who endeavour by calumny to make us enemies, when there are such strong inducements to friendship between us, deserve the severest punishment?" 25. "Well, then," said Tissaphernes, "if you will come to me, as well generals as captains, in a public manner, I will inform you who they are that tell me that you are forming plots against me and my army." 26. "I will bring them all," said Clearchus, "and, on my part, will let you know the quarter whence I hear reports respecting you." 27. After this conversation, Tissaphernes, behaving to Clearchus with much courtesy, desired him to stay with him, and made him his guest at supper.

On the following day, when Clearchus returned to the camp, he plainly showed that he considered himself to be on the most friendly

footing with Tissaphernes, and stated what he had proposed; and he said that those must go to Tissaphernes, whose presence he required, and that whoever of the Greeks should be proved guilty of uttering the alleged calumnies, must be punished as traitors, and persons ill-affected to the Greeks. 28. It was Menon that he suspected of making the charges, as he knew that he had had an interview with Tissaphernes in company with Ariæus, and was forming a party and intriguing against himself, in order that, having gained the whole army over to his own interests, he might secure the friendship of Tissaphernes. 29. Clearchus likewise wished the whole army to have their affections fixed on himself, and troublesome rivals to be removed out of his way.

Some of the soldiers urged, in opposition to his advice, that all the captains and generals should not go, and that they ought to place no confidence in Tissaphernes. 30. But Clearchus pressed his proposal with great vehemence, till he at length succeeded in getting five generals and twenty captains to go; and some of the other soldiers followed them, to the number of about two hundred, as if for the purpose of marketing.

31. When they had arrived at the entrance of Tissaphernes' tent, the generals who were Proxenus the Bœotian, Menon the Thessalian, Agias the Arcadian, Clearchus the Lacedæmonian, and Socrates the Achæan, were invited to enter; but the captains waited at the door. 32. Not long after, at one and the same signal,

those within were seized, and those without massacred; and immediately afterwards a body of Barbarian cavalry, riding through the plain, killed every Greek, slave or freeman, that they met.

33. The Greeks, observing the motions of these cavalry from the camp, were filled with astonishment, and wondered what they could be doing, till Nicarchus an Arcadian came fleeing thither, wounded in the belly and holding his intestines in his hands, and related all that had occurred.) 34. The Greeks, in consequence, ran to their arms in a state of general consternation, expecting that the enemy would immediately march upon the camp. 35. They however did not all come, but only Ariæus and Artaozus and Mithridates, who had been Cyrus's most confidential friends; and the interpreter of the Greeks said, that he saw with them, and recognized the brother of Tissaphernes. Other Persians, equipped with corslets, to the number of three hundred, were in attendance on them. 36. As they approached the camp, they called for whatever general or captain of the Greeks might be there, to come out to them, that they might deliver a message from the king. 37. There accordingly went forth to them, with much caution, Cleanor the Orchomenian, and Sophænetus the Stymphalian, generals of the Greeks, and with them Xenophon the Athenian, that he might learn news of Proxenus. As for Cheirisophus, he happened to be absent at some village looking for provisions.

38. When they had stopped just within hearing, Ariæus said to them: "Clearchus, O Greeks,

having been found guilty of perjury, and of violating the truce, has received his just punishment, and is dead; Proxenus and Menon, as having denounced his treachery, are in great honour; but the king demands of you your arms; for he says that they are his, as they belonged to Cyrus his subject." 39. To this the Greeks answered, (Cleanor the Orchomenian spoke for them.) "O Ariæus, most wicked of men, and the rest of you, as many as were the friends of Cyrus, have you no regard either for gods or men, that, after having sworn that you would consider our friends and enemies to be likewise yours, you have thus, after treacherously deserting us in concert with Tissaphernes, the most godless and most unprincipled of human beings, murdered the very men to whom you swore alliance, and, abandoning us who are left, have come against us in conjunction with our enemies?" 40. Ariæus replied, "Clearchus had been previously detected in treacherous designs against Tissaphernes and Orontes, and all of us who accompany them." 41. To this Xenophon rejoined, "Clearchus, then, if he infringed the truce in violation of his oath; is deservedly punished; for it is just that those who violate their oaths should suffer death; but as for Proxenus and Menon, as they are your benefactors and our generals, send them hither; for it is clear that, being friends to both parties, they will endeavour to advise what is best both for you and for us." 42. The Barbarians, after conversing among themselves for some time, departed without making any answer to this proposal.

## CHAPTER VI.

The characters of the five generals that were put to death.

1. THE generals, who were thus made prisoners, were taken up to the king, and put to death by being beheaded.

One of them, Clearchus, by the general consent of all who were acquainted with him, appears to have been a man well qualified for war, and extremely fond of military enterprise. 2. For as long as the Lacedæmonians were at war with the Athenians, he remained in the service of his country; but when the peace took place, having induced his government to believe that the Thracians were committing ravages on the Greeks, and having gained his point, as well as he could, with the Ephori, he sailed from home to make war upon the Thracians that lie above the Chersonesus and Perinthus. 3. But when the Ephori, after he was gone, having for some reason changed their mind, took measures to oblige him to turn back from the Isthmus, he then no longer paid obedience to their commands, but sailed away to the Hellespont, 4. and was in consequence condemned to death, for disobedience, by the chief magistrates at Sparta. Being then an exile, he went to Cyrus; and by what methods he conciliated the favour of Cyrus, has been told in another place. Cyrus presented him with ten thousand darics; 5. and he, on receiving that sum, did not give himself up to idleness, but having collected an army with the money, made war upon the Thracians, and con-



quered them in battle, and from that time plundered and laid waste their country, and continued this warfare till Cyrus had need of his army; when he went to him, for the purpose of again making war in concert with him.

6. These seem to me to have been the proceedings of one fond of war, who, when he might have lived in peace without disgrace or loss, chose war in preference; when he might have spent his time in idleness, voluntarily underwent toil for the sake of military adventure; and when he might have enjoyed riches in security, chose rather, by engaging in warfare, to diminish their amount. He was indeed led by inclination to spend his money in war, as he might have spent it in pursuits of gallantry, or any other pleasure; to such a degree was he fond of war. 7. He appears also to have been qualified for military undertakings, as he liked perilous adventure, was ready to march day and night against the enemy, and was possessed of great presence of mind in circumstances of difficulty, as those who were with him on all such occasions were universally ready to acknowledge.

8. For commanding troops he was said to be qualified in as great a degree as was consistent with his temper; for he was excelled by no one in ability to contrive how an army might have provisions, and to procure them; and he was equally fitted to impress on all around him the necessity of obeying Clearchus. 9. This he effected by severity; for he was of a stern countenance and harsh voice; and he always

punished violently, and sometimes in anger, so that he occasionally repented of what he had done. He punished too on principle, for he thought that there could be no efficiency in an army undisciplined by chastisement. 10. He is also reported to have said, that a soldier ought to fear his commander more than the enemy, if he would either keep guard well, or abstain from doing injury to friends, or march without hesitation against foes. 11. In circumstances of danger, accordingly, the soldiers were willing to obey him implicitly, and wished for no other leader; for they said, that the sternness in his countenance then assumed an appearance of cheerfulness, and that what was severe in it seemed undauntedness against the enemy; so that it appeared indicative of safety, and not of austerity. 12. But when they were out of danger, and were at liberty to betake themselves to other chiefs, they deserted him in great numbers; for he had nothing attractive in him, but was always forbidding and repulsive, so that the soldiers felt towards him as boys towards their master. 13. Hence it was, that he never had any one who followed him out of friendship and attachment to his person; though such as followed him from being appointed to the service by their country, or from being compelled by want or other necessity, he found extremely submissive to him. 14. And when they began under his command to gain victories over the enemy, there were many important circumstances that concurred to render his troops excellent soldiers; for their perfect confidence against the enemy

had its effect, and their dread of punishment from him rendered them strictly observant of discipline. 15. Such was his character as a commander. But he was said to have been by no means willing to be commanded by others. When he was put to death, he was about fifty years of age.

16. Proxenus the Bœotian, from his earliest youth, felt a desire to become a man capable of great undertakings; and through this desire paid Gorgias of Leontium for instruction. 17. When he had passed some time with him, and thought himself capable of command, and, if honored with the friendship of the great, of making no inadequate return for their favours, he proceeded to take a part in this enterprise with Cyrus; and expected to acquire in it a great name, extensive influence, and abundant wealth. 18. But though he earnestly wished for these things, he at the same time plainly showed, that he was unwilling to acquire any of them by injustice, but that he thought he ought to obtain them by just and honourable means, or otherwise not at all.

19. He was indeed able to command orderly and well-disposed men, but incapable of inspiring ordinary soldiers with either respect or fear for him; he stood even more in awe of those under his command, than they of him; and evidently showed that he was more afraid of being disliked by his soldiers, than his soldiers of being disobedient to him. 20. He thought it sufficient both for being, and appearing, capable of command, to praise him who did well, and

withhold his praise from the offender. Such, therefore, of his followers, as were of honourable and virtuous character, were much attached to him, but the unprincipled formed designs upon him, as a man easy to manage. He was about thirty years old when he was put to death.

21. As for Menon the Thessalian, he ever manifested an excessive desire for riches, being desirous of command that he might receive greater pay, and desirous of honours that he might obtain greater perquisites; and he wished to be well with those in power, in order that when he did wrong he might not suffer punishment. 22. To accomplish what he desired, he thought that the shortest road lay through perjury, falsehood, and deceit; while sincerity and truth he regarded as no better than folly. 23. He evidently had no affection for any man; and as for those to whom he professed to be a friend, he was unmistakeably plotting mischief against them. He never ridiculed an enemy, but always used to talk with his associates as if ridiculing all of them. 24. He formed no designs on the property of his enemies, (for he thought it difficult to take what belonged to such as were on their guard against him,) but looked upon himself as the only person sensible how very easy it was to invade the unguarded property of friends.

25. Those whom he saw given to perjury and injustice, he feared as men well armed; but sought to practice on those who were pious and observant of truth, as imbeciles. 26. As another

might take a pride in religion, and truth, and justice, so Menon took a pride in being able to deceive, in devising falsehoods, in sneering at friends; and thought the man who was guileless was to be regarded as deficient in knowledge of the world. He believed that he must conciliate those, in whose friendship he wished to stand first, by calumniating such as already held the chief place in their favour. 27. The soldiers he tried to render obedient to him by being an accomplice in their dishonesty. He expected to be honoured and courted, by showing that he had the power and the will to inflict the greatest injuries. When any one deserted him, he spoke of it as a favour on his own part that, while he made use of his services, he did not work his destruction.

28. As to such parts of his history as are little known, I might, if I were to speak of them, say something untrue of him; but those which every one knows, are these. While yet in the prime of youth he obtained, at the hands of Aristippus, the command of his corps of mercenaries. He was also, in his prime, most intimate with Ariæus, though a Barbarian, as Ariæus delighted in beautiful youths. He himself, too, while yet a beardless youth, made a favorite of Tharypas, who had arrived at manhood.

29. When his fellow-officers were put to death, because they had served with Cyrus against the king, he, though he had done the same, was not put to death with them; but after the death of the other generals, he died under a punish-

ment inflicted by the king, not like Clearchus and the other commanders, who were beheaded (which appears to be the speediest kind of death); but after living a year in torture, like a malefactor, he is said at length to have met his end.

30. Agias the Arcadian and Socrates the Achæan were also put to death. These no one ever derided as wanting courage in battle, or blamed for their conduct towards their friends. They were both about five and thirty years of age.

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## BOOK III.

### CHAPTER I.

Dejection of the Greeks. How Xenophon was led to join in Cyrus's expedition. His dream, and reflections. He rouses the captains of the division that Proxenus had commanded, and exhorts them to take measures for their safety. Apollonides deprived of his captaincy. A general meeting of the surviving generals and captains, at which Xenophon persuades them to choose new commanders in the room of those that they had lost. Xenophon is one of those elected.

1. WHAT the Greeks did in their march up the country with Cyrus, until the time of the battle, and what occurred after Cyrus was dead, when the Greeks set out to return with Tissaphernes in reliance on a truce, has been related in the preceding part of the work.

2. After the generals were made prisoners, and such of the captains and soldiers as had accompanied them were put to death, the Greeks were in great perplexity, reflecting that they were not far from the king's residence; that there were around them, on all sides, many hostile nations and cities; that no one would any longer secure them opportunities of purchasing provisions; that they were distant from Greece not less than ten thousand stadia; that there was no one to guide them on the way; that impassable rivers would intercept them in the midst of their course; that the Barbarians who had gone up with Cyrus had deserted them; and that they were left utterly alone, having no cavalry to support them, so that it was certain, even if they defeated their enemies, that they would kill not a man of them, and that, if they were defeated, none of themselves would be left alive;—3. reflecting, I say, on these circumstances, and being disheartened at them, few of them tasted food for that evening, few kindled fires, and many did not come to the place of arms during the night, but lay down to rest where they severally happened to be, unable to sleep for sorrow and longing for their country, their parents, their wives and children, whom they never expected to see again. In this state of mind they all went to their resting-places.

4. There was in the army a certain Xenophon, an Athenian, who accompanied it neither in the character of general, nor captain, nor common soldier, but it had happened that Proxenus, an old guest-friend of his, had sent for him from

home, giving him a promise that, if he came, he would recommend him to the friendship of Cyrus, whom he considered, he said, as a greater object of regard than his own country. 5. Xenophon, on reading the letter, consulted Socrates the Athenian, as to the propriety of making the journey; and Socrates, fearing that if he attached himself to Cyrus it might prove a ground for accusation against him with his country, because Cyrus was thought to have zealously assisted the Lacedæmonians in their war with Athens, advised Xenophon to go to Delphi, and consult the god respecting the expedition. 6. Xenophon, having gone thither accordingly, inquired of Apollo to which of the gods he should sacrifice and pray, in order most honourably and successfully to perform the journey which he contemplated, and, after prosperously accomplishing it, to return in safety. Apollo answered him that "he should sacrifice to the gods to whom it was proper for him to sacrifice." 7. When he returned, he repeated the oracle to Socrates, who, on hearing it, blamed him for not asking Apollo in the first place, whether it were better for him to go or stay at home; whereas, having settled with himself that he would go, he only asked how he might best go; "but since you have," said he, "put the question thus, you must do what the god has directed." 8. Xenophon, therefore, having sacrificed to the gods that Apollo commanded, set sail, and found Proxenus and Cyrus at Sardis, just setting out on their march up the country, and was presented to Cyrus. 9. Prox-



enus desiring that he should remain with them, Cyrus joined in the same desire, and said that as soon as the expedition was ended, he would send him home again. The expedition was said to be intended against the Pisidians. 10. Xenophon accordingly joined in the enterprise, being thus deceived, but not by Proxenus; for he did not know that the movement was against the king, no did any other of the Greeks, except Clearchus. When they arrived in Cilicia, however, it appeared manifest to every one that it was against the king that their force was directed; but, though they were afraid of the length of the journey, and unwilling to proceed, yet the greater part of them, out of respect both for one another and for Cyrus, continued to follow him; of which number was Xenophon.

11. When this perplexity occurred, Xenophon was distressed as well as the other Greeks, and unable to rest, but having at length got a little sleep, he had a dream, in which, in the midst of a thunder-storm, a bolt seemed to him to fall upon his father's house, and the house in consequence became all in a blaze. 12. Being greatly frightened, he immediately awoke, and considered his dream as in one respect favourable, (inasmuch as, being in troubles and dangers, he seemed to behold a great light from Jupiter,) but in another respect he was alarmed, (because the dream appeared to him to be from Jupiter who was a king, and the fire to blaze all around him,) lest he should be unable to escape from the king's territories, but should be hemmed in on all sides by inextricable difficulties.

13. What it betokens, however, to see such a dream, we may conjecture from the occurrences that happened after the dream. What immediately followed was this. As soon as he awoke, the thought that first occurred to him was, "Why do I lie here? The night is passing away. With daylight it is probable that the enemy will come upon us; and if we once fell into the hands of the king, what is there to prevent us from being put to death with ignominy, after witnessing the most grievous sufferings among our comrades, and enduring every severity of torture ourselves?" 14. Yet no one concert measures, or takes thought, for our defence, but we lie still, as if we were at liberty to enjoy repose. From what city, then, do I expect a leader to undertake our defence? What age am I waiting for to come to myself? Assuredly I shall never be older, if I give myself up to the enemy to-day." 15. After these reflections he arose, and called together, in the first place, the captains that were under Proxenus.

When they were assembled, he said, "For my part, captains, I cannot sleep, nor, I should think, can you, nor can I lie still any longer, when I consider in what circumstances we are placed; 16. for it is plain that the enemy did not openly manifest hostility towards us, until they thought that they had judiciously arranged their plans; but on our side no one takes any thought how we may best maintain a contest with them. 17. Yet if we prove remiss, and fall into the power of the king, what may we not expect to suffer from a man who cut off the head and hand

of his own brother by the same mother and father, even after he was dead, and fixed them upon a stake? What may not we, I say, expect to suffer, who have no relative to take our part, and who have marched against him to make him a subject instead of a monarch, and to put him to death if it should lie in our power? 18. Will he not proceed to every extremity, that by reducing us to the last degree of ignominious suffering, he may inspire all men with a dread of ever taking the field against him? We must however try every expedient not to fall into his hands. 19. For myself, I never ceased, while the truce lasted, to consider ourselves as objects of pity, and to regard the king and his people as objects of envy, as I contemplated how extensive and valuable a country they possessed, how great an abundance of provisions, how many slaves and cattle, and how vast a quantity of gold and raiment; 20. while, on the other hand, when I reflected on the condition of our own soldiers, that we had no share in any of all these blessings, unless we bought it, and knew that few of us had any longer money to buy, and that our oaths restrained us from getting provisions otherwise than by buying, I sometimes, on taking all these circumstances into consideration, feared the continuance of peace more than I now fear war. 21. But since they have put an end to peace, their own haughtiness, and our mistrust, seem likewise to be brought to an end; for the advantages which I have mentioned lie now as prizes between us, for whichsoever of us shall

prove the better man; and the gods are the judges of the contest, who, as is just, will be on our side; 22. since the enemy have offended them by perjury, while we, though seeing many good things to tempt us, have resolutely abstained from all of them through regard to our oaths; so that, as it seems to me, we may advance to the combat with much greater confidence than they can feel. 23. We have bodies, moreover, better able than theirs to endure cold and heat and toil; and we have, with the help of the gods, more resolute minds; while the enemy, if the gods, as before, grant us success, will be found more obnoxious to wounds and death than we are. 24. But possibly others of you entertain the same thoughts; let us not, then, in the name of heaven, wait for others to come and exhort us to noble deeds, but let us be ourselves the first to excite others to exert their valour. Prove yourselves the bravest of the captains, and more worthy to lead than those who are now leaders. 25. As for me, if you wish to take the start in the course, I am willing to follow you, or, if you appoint me to be a leader, I shall not make my youth an excuse, but shall think myself sufficiently mature to defend myself against harm."

26. Thus spoke Xenophon; and the captains, on hearing his observations, all desired him to be their leader, except a certain Apollonides, who resembled a Bœotian in his manner of speaking; this man said that "whoever asserted that they could gain safety by any other means than by obtaining, if he could, the king's con-

sent to it, talked absurdly ;” and at the same time began to enumerate the difficulties surrounding them. 27. But Xenophon, interrupting him, said, “ O most wonderful of men ! you neither understand what you see, nor remember what you hear. Yet you were on the same spot with those here present, when the king, after Cyrus was dead, being in high spirits at the circumstance, sent to demand that we should deliver up our arms ; 28. and when we, refusing to deliver them up, and appearing in full armour, went and encamped over against him ; what means did he not try, sending deputies, asking for a truce, and supplying us with provisions until he obtained a truce ? 29. But when, on the other hand, our generals and captains went to confer with the Barbarians, as you now advise us to do, without their arms, and relying on the truce, were they not beaten, goaded, insulted, and are they not unable, wretched men, to die, though, I should think, greatly longing for death ? And do you, knowing all these occurrences, say that those who exhort us to defend ourselves talk absurdly, and advise us to go again to try persuasion ? 30. To me, O captains, it seems that we should no longer admit this man into the same service with ourselves, but take from him his captaincy, and laying baggage on his back, make use of him in that capacity ; for he disgraces both his own country and all Greece, inasmuch as, being a Greek, he is of such a character.” 31. Here Agasias of Stymphalus, proceeding to speak, said, “ But this man, assuredly, has nothing to do either with

Bœotia or with Greece at all, for I have observed that he has both his ears bored, like a Lydian." Such indeed was the case; and they accordingly expelled him.

32. The rest, proceeding to the different divisions of the troops, called up the general wherever there was a general surviving, and the lieutenant-general where the general was dead, and the captain wherever there was a captain surviving.

33. When they were all come together, they sat down before the place where the arms were piled; and the generals and captains assembled were about a hundred in all. The time when the meeting took place was about midnight.

34. Hieronymus, a native of Elis, the oldest of all the captains that had served under Proxenus, was the first to speak, as follows: "It has seemed proper to us, O generals and captains, on contemplating the present state of our affairs, to meet together ourselves, and to call upon you to join us, that we may determine, if we can, on some plan for our benefit. But do you, Xenophon, first represent to the assembly what you have already observed to us." 35. Xenophon accordingly said, "We are all aware that the king and Tissaphernes have made prisoners of as many of us as they could; and it is evident that they are forming designs against the rest of us that they may put us to death if they can. But on our parts I think that every means should be adopted in order that we may not fall into the Barbarians' hands, but rather that they, if we can accomplish it, may fall into ours." 36. Be well assured then, that you, who have now

met together in such numbers, have upon you a most important responsibility; for all the soldiers look to you, and, if they see you dispirited, they will themselves lose courage, but if both you yourselves appear well prepared to meet the enemy, and exhort others to be equally prepared, be certain that they will follow you, and strive to imitate you. 37. Perhaps, too, it is right that you should show some superiority over them; for you are their generals, their officers, and their captains, and, when there was peace, you enjoyed advantages over them in fortune and honour; and now, in consequence, when war arises, you ought to prove yourselves pre-eminent over the multitude, and to take the lead in forming plans for them, and, should it ever be necessary, in toiling for them. 38. And, in the first place, I think that you will greatly benefit the army, if you take care that generals and captains be chosen as soon as possible in the room of those whom we have lost; for without commanders nothing honourable or advantageous can be achieved, I may say in one word, anywhere, but least of all in the field of battle. Good order conduces to safety, but want of order has already proved fatal to many. 39. Again, when you have appointed as many commanders, as are requisite, I consider that if you were to assemble and encourage the rest of the soldiers, you would act very suitably to the occasion; 40. for you perhaps observe, as well as myself, how dejectedly they have now come to the place of arms, and how dejectedly they go upon guard, so that, while they are in such a

condition, I know not for what service any one could employ them, whether required by night or by day. 41. But if any one could change the direction of their thoughts, so that they may not merely contemplate what they are likely to suffer, but what they may be able to do, they will become much more eager for action; 42. for you are certain that it is neither numbers nor strength which gives the victory in war, but that whichever side advances on the enemy with the more resolute courage, their opponents, in general, cannot withstand their onset. 43. I have also remarked, fellow-soldiers, that such as are eager in the field to preserve their lives at any rate, for the most part perish wretchedly and ignominiously, while I see that such as reflect that death is to all men common and inevitable, and seek in battle only to fall with honour, more frequently, from whatever cause, arrive at old age, and live, while they live, with greater happiness. 44. Being aware, then, of these facts, it behoves us, such are the circumstances in which we are placed, both to prove ourselves to be brave soldiers, and to exhort others to be so likewise." 45. Having spoken thus, he stopped.

After him Cheirisophus said, "Till the present moment, O Xenophon, I knew nothing of you, except having heard that you were an Athenian, but now I have to praise you both for what you say and what you do, and could wish that there were very many like you; for it would be a general good. 46. And now," he added, "let us not delay, my fellow-soldiers, but



proceed at once, you who want them, to choose commanders, and when you have elected them, come to the centre of the camp, and bring those that are chosen; and we will then call the rest of the soldiers together there. And let Tolmides the herald," said he, "come with us." 47. As he said this, he rose up, that the necessary measures might not be delayed, but carried at once into execution. There were accordingly chosen commanders, Timasion a Dardanian in the room of Clearchus, Xanthicles an Achæan in that of Socrates, Cleanor an Arcadian in that of Agias, Philesius an Achæan in that of Menon, and Xenophon of Athens in that of Proxenus.

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## CHAPTER II.

The new generals hold a council of war. The speeches of Cheirisophus, Cleanor, and Xenophon. The order of march is settled, and the duties of each commander appointed.

1. WHEN the officers were chosen, and day was just dawning, they met in the centre of the camp, and it was resolved to station sentinels at the out-posts, and to call together the soldiers. When the rest of the troops came up, Cheirisophus the Lacedæmonian rose first, and spoke as follows: 2. "Our present circumstances, fellow-soldiers, are fraught with difficulty, since we are deprived of such able generals, and captains, and soldiers, and since, also, the party of Ariæus, who were formerly our supporters, have deserted us; 3. yet it behoves us to extricate ourselves from

these difficulties as brave men, and not to lose courage, but to endeavor to save ourselves, if we can, by an honourable victory ; but if we cannot do so, let us at least die with honour, and never, while we live, put ourselves into the power of the enemy ; for I think that, in that case, we should endure such sufferings as I wish that the gods may inflict on our adversaries.”

4. After him Cleanor the Orchomenian arose and spoke thus : “ You see, soldiers, the perjury and impiety of the king ; and you see also the faithlessness of Tissaphernes, who, after telling us that he was a neighbour of the Greeks, and would esteem it the highest privilege to save us, and after having given us his right hand as a pledge, has himself deceived and made prisoners our generals, and has not respected even Jupiter, the protector of the rights of hospitality, but, entertaining Clearchus at his own table, has, by this very means, inveigled and destroyed our officers. 5. Ariæus, too, whom we offered to make king, to whom we gave and from whom we received pledges, that we would not betray one another, even he, neither fearing the gods, nor respecting the memory of Cyrus, though honoured by him in the highest degree while he was alive, has now gone over to his bitterest enemies, and endeavours to distress us who were his friends. 6. But on these men may the gods take vengeance ; for ourselves, it is incumbent upon us, having this conduct before our eyes, not to be deceived again by them, but, after fighting as bravely as we can, to bear with patience such fortune as the gods may appoint us.”

7. Next stood up Xenophon, who had accoutred himself for war as splendidly as he could, thinking that if the gods should grant them victory, the finest equipment would be suitable to success, or that, if it were appointed for him to die, it would be well for him to adorn himself with his best armour, and in that dress to meet his end. He proceeded to speak thus: 8. "Of the perjury and perfidy of the Barbarians Cleanor has just spoken, and you, I am sure, are well aware of it. If, then, we think of coming again to terms of friendship with them, we must of necessity feel much distrust on that head, when we see what our generals have suffered, who, in reliance on their faith, put themselves into their hands; but if we propose to inflict on them vengeance with our swords for what they have done, and, for the future to be at war with them at all points, we have, with the help of the gods, many fair hopes of safety." 9. As he was uttering these words, somebody sneezed, and the soldiers, hearing it, with one impulse paid their adoration to the god; and Xenophon continued, "Since, soldiers, while we were speaking of safety, an omen from Jupiter the Preserver has appeared, it seems to me that we should vow to that god to offer sacrifices for our preservation on the spot where we first reach a friendly country; and that we should vow, at the same time, to sacrifice to the other gods according to our ability. And to whomsoever this seems reasonable, let him hold up his hand." All held up their hands; and they then made their vows, and sang the pæan. When the ceremonies to the gods were duly performed, he

recommenced thus: 10. "I was saying that we had many fair hopes of safety. In the first place, we have observed our oaths made to the gods; but the enemy have perjured themselves, and broken the truce and their oaths. Such being the case, it is natural that the gods should be unfavourable to our enemies, and should fight on our side; the gods, who are able, whenever they will, to make the mighty soon weak, and to save the weak with ease, although they be in grievous perils. 11. In the next place, I will remind you of the dangers in which our ancestors were, that you may feel conscious how much it becomes you to be brave, and how the brave are preserved, even from the greatest troubles, by the aid of the gods. For when the Persians, and those united with them, came with a numerous host, as if to sweep Athens from the face of the earth, the Athenians, by daring to oppose them, gave them a defeat; 12. and having made a vow to Diana, that whatever number they should kill of the enemy, they would sacrifice to her divinity the same number of goats, and not being able to find enough, they resolved to sacrifice five hundred every year; and to this day they still continue to sacrifice them. 13. Again, when Xerxes, having collected that innumerable army of his, came down upon Greece a second time, our ancestors on that occasion, too, defeated the ancestors of these Barbarians, both by land and sea; of which exploits the trophies are still to be seen as memorials; the greatest of all memorials, however, is the liberty of the states in which you were born and bred, for you worship no

man as master, but the gods alone. Of such ancestors are you sprung.

14. "Nor am I going to say that you dishonor them. It is not yet many days since you arrayed yourselves in the field against the descendants of those Barbarians, and defeated, with the help of the gods, a force many times more numerous than yourselves. 15. On that occasion you showed yourselves brave men to procure a throne for Cyrus; and now, when the struggle is for your own lives, it becomes you to be more valiant and resolute. 16. At present, too, you may justly feel greater confidence against your adversaries; for even then, when you had made no trial of them, and saw them in countless numbers before you, you yet dared, with the spirit of your fathers, to advance upon them, and now, when you have learned from experience of them, that, though many times your number, they shrink from receiving your charge, what reason have you any longer to fear them? 17. And do not consider it any disadvantage, that the troops of Cyrus, who were formerly arrayed on our side, have now left us; for they are far more cowardly than those who were defeated by you; at least they deserted us to flee to them, and those who are so ready to commence flight it is better to see posted on the side of the enemy than in our own ranks.

18. "If, again, any of you are disheartened because we have no cavalry, and the enemy have a great number, consider that ten thousand cavalry are nothing more than ten thousand men; for no one ever perished in battle of being bitten

or kicked by a horse ; it is the men that do whatever is done in the encounter. 19. Doubtless we, too, rest upon a surer support than cavalry have, for they are raised upon horses, and are afraid, not only of us, but also of falling, while we, taking our steps upon the ground, shall strike such as approach us with far greater force, and hit much more surely the mark at which we may aim. In one point alone, indeed, have the cavalry the advantage, that it is safer for them to flee than for us.

20. "But if, though you have courage for battle, you are disquieted at the thought that Tissaphernes will no longer guide you, and that the king will no longer supply you with provisions, consider whether it is better to have Tissaphernes for our guide, who is manifestly plotting our destruction, or such persons as we ourselves may seize and compel to be our guides, who will be conscious that if they go wrong with regard to us, they go wrong with regard to their own lives and persons. 21. And as to provisions, whether is it better for us to purchase, in the markets which they provide, small measures of food for large sums of money, (no longer, indeed, having the money,) or, if we are successful in the field, to take supplies for ourselves, adopting whatever measure each of us may wish to use?

22. "Again, if you think, that this state of things will be better, but imagine that the rivers will be impassable, and that you were greatly misled when you came across them, reflect whether the Barbarians have not acted most unwisely also in this respect. For all

ivers, though they may be impassable at a distance from their sources, are easy to be forded by those who go to their springs, wetting them not even to the knees. 23. But even if the rivers shall not afford us a passage, and no guide shall appear to conduct us, we still need not be in despair; for we know that the Mysians, whom we should not call more valiant than ourselves, have settled themselves, against the king's will, in many rich and large cities in the king's territory; we know that the Pisidians have acted similarly; and we have ourselves seen that the Lycaonians, having seized on the strongholds in the plains, enjoy the produce of the land of these Barbarians;] 24. and I should recommend that we, for the present, should not let it be seen that we are eager to start homewards, but should apparently make arrangements as if we thought of settling somewhere in these parts; for I am sure that the king would grant the Mysians many guides, and give them many hostages to send them out of the country safely, and even make roads for them, though they should desire to depart in four-horse chariots; and for ourselves, too, I am convinced that he would with thrice as much pleasure do the same, if he saw us making dispositions to remain here. 25. But I am afraid that if we should once learn to live in idleness, to revel in abundance, and to associate with the fair and stately wives and daughters of the Medes and Persians, we should, like the lotus-eaters, think no more of the road homewards. 26. It seems to me, therefore, both reasonable and just, that

we should first of all make an attempt to return to Greece, and to the members of our families, and let our countrymen see that they live in voluntary poverty, since they might see those, who are now living at home without due means of subsistence, enriched on betaking themselves hither. But I need say no more on this head, for it is plain, my fellow-soldiers, that all these advantages fall to the conquerors.

27. "I must also suggest to you, however, in what manner we may proceed on our way with the greatest safety, and how we may fight, if it should be necessary to fight, to the greatest possible advantage. First of all, then," he continued, "it seems to me that we ought to burn whatever carriages we have, that our cattle may not influence our movements, but that we may march whithersoever it may be convenient for the army; and then that we should burn our tents with them, for tents are troublesome to carry, and of no service either for fighting or in getting provisions. 28. I think also that we ought to rid ourselves of whatever is superfluous in the rest of our baggage, reserving only what we have for war, or for meat and drink, that as many of us as possible may be under arms, and as few as possible baggage-bearers; for you are aware that whatever belongs to the conquered becomes the property of others: and, if we are victorious, we ought to look upon the enemy as our baggage-carriers.

29. "It only remains for me to mention a particular which I consider to be of the greatest importance. You see that the enemy did not



venture openly to commence war against us, until they had seized our generals, thinking that as long as we had commanders, and were obedient to them, we should be in a condition to gain the advantage over them in the field, but on making prisoners of our generals, they expected that we should perish from want of direction and order. 30. It is incumbent, therefore, on our present commanders to be far more vigilant than our former ones, and on those under command to be far more orderly, and more obedient to their officers, at present than they were before. 31. And if you were also to pass a resolution, that, should any one be disobedient, whoever of you chances to light upon him is to join with his officer in punishing him, the enemy would by that means be most effectually disappointed in their expectations, for, on the very day that such resolution is passed, they will see before them ten thousand Clearchuses instead of one, who will not allow a single soldier to play the coward. 32. But it is now time for me to conclude my speech; for in an instant perhaps the enemy will be upon us. Whosoever, therefore, thinks these suggestions reasonable, let him give his sanction to them at once, that they may be carried into execution. But if any other course, in any one's opinion, be better than this, let him, even though he be a private soldier, boldly give us his sentiments; for the safety, which we all seek, is a general concern."

33. Cheirisophus then said, "Should there be need of any other measure in addition to what Xenophon proposes, it will be in our power to

bring it forward by and by; what he has now suggested we ought, I think, to vote at once to be the best course that we can adopt; and to whomsoever this seems proper, let him hold up his hand;” and they all held them up. 34. Xenophon then, rising again, said, “Hear, soldiers, what appears to me to be necessary in addition to what I have laid before you.” It is plain that we must march to some place from which we may get provisions; and I hear that there are some good-looking villages not more than twenty stadia distant; 35. but I should not wonder if the enemy, (like cowardly dogs that run after such as pass by them, and bite them if they can, but flee from those who pursue them,) I should not wonder, I say, if the enemy were to follow close upon us when we begin to march. 36. It will, perhaps, be the safer way for us to march, therefore, forming a hollow square of the heavy armed troops, in order that the baggage and the large number of camp-followers may be in greater security within it; and if it be now settled who is to lead the square, and regulate the movements in front, who are to be on each flank, and who to have charge of the rear, we shall not have to consider of these things when the enemy approach, but may at once act according to what has been arranged. 37. If, then, any one else sees anything better to recommend, let it be settled otherwise; if not, let Cheirisophus lead, since he is also a Lacedæmonian; let two of the oldest generals take the command on each of the flanks; and let Timasion and myself, the

youngest of the officers, take charge, at least for the present, of the rear. 38. After a time, when we have tried this arrangement, we will consider, as occasion may require, what may seem best to be done. If any one thinks of any better plan than this, let him speak." As nobody made any objection, he said, "Whosoever likes these proposals, let him hold up his hand." The proposals were approved. 39. "And now," he added, "it belongs to you to go and carry into execution what has been decided upon; and whosoever of you wishes to see his friends and relations, let him prove himself a man of valour, for by no other means can he succeed in attaining that object; whoever of you desires to preserve his life, let him strive to conquer, for it is the part of conquerors to kill, but of the conquered to die; and if any one of you covets spoil, let him endeavour to secure victory for us, for it is the privilege of victors at once to save their own property and to seize on that of the vanquished."

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### CHAPTER III.

The Greeks are visited by Mithridates as a friend, but he soon shows that he is an enemy, and they resolve to enter into no further negotiations with the Persian king. They pass the Zabatus, are harrassed by Mithridates, and suffer for the want of slingers and cavalry. Volunteers are enrolled for their services.

1. WHEN this speech was concluded, they rose up, and went off to burn their carriages and tents; of their superfluous baggage they

divided among themselves such portions as any needed, and threw the rest into the fire. Having done this, they went to breakfast. While they were at their meal, Mithridates rode up to them with about thirty horsemen and requesting the generals to come within hearing, spoke as follows: 2. "I was faithful to Cyrus, O men of Greece, as you yourselves know; I am now well disposed towards you; and I am living here under great apprehensions; if therefore I should find that you are concerting any safe scheme for your deliverance, I would come and join you, bringing with me all my followers. Let me know, therefore, what you have in contemplation, as one who is your friend and well-wisher, and who is willing to march along with you." 3. The generals, after consulting together, resolved on returning the following answer; and Cheirisophus delivered it: "It is our determination, if no one hinders us from returning home, to proceed through the country with as little injury to it as possible; but, if any one opposes us on our march, to fight our way against him as vigorously as we can." 4. Mithridates then endeavoured to convince them how impracticable it was to escape without the king's consent. But it was now concluded that he was insidiously sent; for one of the followers of Tissaphernes was in attendance on him to insure his fidelity. 5. In consequence, it was thought right by the generals to pass a resolution that the war should be such as to admit of no intercourse by heralds; for those that came tried to corrupt the soldiers, and succeeded in seducing one of

the captains, Nicarchus an Arcadian, and he deserted in the night with about twenty men.

6. Having then dined, and crossed the river Zabatus, they marched on in regular order, keeping the baggage-cattle and camp-followers in the centre. But before they had gone far, Mithridates made his appearance again with about two hundred cavalry and about four hundred archers and slingers, very light and active troops. 7. He advanced towards the Greeks as a friend, but, when he came near, some of his men, both horse and foot, suddenly discharged their arrows, and others used their slings, and wounded some of our men. The rear of the Greeks indeed was much harrassed, and could do nothing in return; for the Cretan Bowman shot to a less distance than the Persians, and had also, as being lightly armed, sheltered themselves within the heavy troops; and the javelin-men did not hurl far enough to reach the slingers. 8. Upon this it seemed to Xenophon that it would be well to pursue them; and such of the heavy-armed and peltasts as happened to be with him in the rear, began to pursue, but could overtake in the pursuit not a single man of the enemy; 9. for the Greeks had no cavalry, nor could their infantry, in a short distance, overtake the infantry of the enemy, who took to flight when they were a long way off, since it was impossible for the Greeks to follow them to a great distance from the rest of the army. 10. The Barbarian cavalry, too, inflicted wounds in their retreat, shooting backwards as they rode, and however far the Greeks advanced in pursuit,

so far were they obliged to retreat fighting. 11. Thus during the whole day, they did not advance more than five-and-twenty stadia ; however, they arrived at the villages in the evening.

Here again there was much dejection ; and Cheirisophus and the oldest of the generals blamed Xenophon for pursuing the enemy apart from the main body, endangering himself, and yet being unable to hurt the assailants. 12. Xenophon hearing this charge, acknowledged that they blamed him justly, and that the result bore testimony in their favour. "But," said he, "I was under the necessity of pursuing, as I saw that we suffered great damage while remaining at our posts, and were unable to retaliate. 13. But when we began to pursue," continued he, "the truth was as you say ; for we were none the better able to injure the enemy, and we could not retreat without great difficulty. 14. Thanks are due to the gods, therefore, that the Barbarians did not come upon us in great force, but only with a few troops, so that, whilst they did us no great harm, they showed us of what we stand in need ; 15. for at present the enemy shoot their arrows and sling their stones such a distance, that neither can the Cretans return their shots, nor can those who throw with the hand reach them ; and when we pursue them, we cannot go after them any great distance from the main body, and in a short space a foot-soldier, even if ever so swift, cannot overtake another foot-soldier, starting at bow-shot distance. 16. If therefore we would keep off the enemy, so that they may be unable to hurt us

on our march, we must at once provide ourselves with slingers and cavalry. There are, I hear, some Rhodians in our army, the greater number of whom, they say, understand the use of the sling, while their weapon carries even double the distance of the Persian sling, 17. which, as they sling with large stones, reach only a short distance, while the Rhodians know how to use leaden bullets. 18. If then, we ascertain which of them have slings, and give money to each of them for them; and pay money also to any one who is willing to plait more, and find some other privilege for him who consents to serve in the troop of slingers, possibly some will offer themselves who may be able to be of service to us. 19. I see also that there are horses in the army, some in my possession, and some left by Clearchus, besides many others taken from the enemy which are employed in carrying the baggage. If, then, we collect all these, and put ordinary baggage-cattle in their place, and equip the horses for riders, they will perhaps annoy the enemy in their flight." 20. These suggestions were approved; and that very night there came forward slingers to the number of two hundred. The next day, as many as fifty horsemen and horses were pronounced fit for service; leathern jackets and breastplates were furnished to them; and Lycius the son of Polystratus an Athenian, was appointed their captain.

## CHAPTER IV.

Mithridates again pursues the Greeks, but is repulsed, They reach the Tigris, encamp at Mespila, and are attacked by Tissaphernes with a numerous force. They repel him, and alter their order of march. Traversing a mountainous part of the country, they are harassed by the enemy, till, on getting possession of a height, they are enabled to reach the plain beyond it in safety.

1. HAVING halted for that day, they went forward on the next, rising earlier in the morning than usual; for they had a ravine formed by a torrent to pass, at which they were afraid that the enemy would attack them while they were crossing. 2. It was not till they had got over, however, that Mithridates again made his appearance, having now with him a thousand horse, and archers and slingers to the number of four thousand; for he had solicited and obtained that number from Tissaphernes, promising that, if he received them, he would deliver the Greeks into his hands; for he conceived a contempt for them, because, in his previous attack on them, though he had but a small force with him, he had suffered no loss, and thought that he had caused them great annoyance. 3. When the Greeks, having crossed, were distant about eight stadia from the ravine, Mithridates also passed over it with his force. Instructions had been issued to such of the peltasts and heavy-armed troops as were to pursue, and a charge had been given to the horsemen to pursue with boldness, as a sufficient force would follow to support them. 4. When therefore Mithridates overtook



them, and the slings and arrows began to take effect, a signal was given to the Greeks with the trumpet, and those who had been ordered immediately hastened to charge the enemy, the cavalry riding forward at the same time. The enemy however did not wait to receive their charge, but fled back to the ravine. 5. In the pursuit several of the Barbarian foot were killed, and about eighteen of the horse made prisoners in the defile. The Greeks, of their own impulse, mutilated the dead bodies, in order that the sight of them might be as horrible as possible to the enemy.

6. The enemy, after faring thus, went off, and the Greeks advancing the rest of the day without molestation, arrived at the river Tigris. 7. Here was a large deserted city, the name of which was Larissa, and which the Medes had formerly inhabited. The breadth of its wall was five and twenty feet, and the height of it a hundred; its circuit was two parasangs. It was built of bricks made of clay, but there was under it a stone foundation, the height of twenty feet. 8. This city the king of the Persians, at the time when the Persians wrested the empire from the Medes, was unable by any means to take; a cloud, however, having covered the sun, hid it from view, till the people deserted it, and so it was taken. 9. Near the city was a stone pyramid, of the breadth of one plethrum, and the height of two plethra. Upon it were many of the Barbarians who had fled from the neighbouring villages.

10. Hence they proceeded one day's journey,

six parasangs, to a large unoccupied fortress, situated near a city, the name of which was Mespila; The Medes had formerly inhabited it. The foundation of the wall was of polished stone, full of shells, the breadth fifty feet, and the height fifty; 11. and on it was constructed a wall of bricks, fifty feet broad, and a hundred high; the circumference of it was six parasangs. Here Medea, the king's wife, is said to have taken refuge, when the Medes were deprived of the empire by the Persians. 12. The king of the Persians, on besieging this city, was unable to reduce it either by length of time or by assault, but Jupiter, as with a thunder-stroke, deprived the inhabitants of their senses, and thus it was taken.

13. Hence they proceeded one day's journey, a distance of four parasangs. In the course of this day's march Tissaphernes made his appearance, having with him the cavalry which he himself commanded, the force of Orontes, who had married the king's daughter, the Barbarian troops with which Cyrus went up, the troops with which the king's brother came to assist him, and, besides these, all that the king himself had given him; so that his army appeared extremely numerous. 14. When he came near, he stationed some of his companies in the rear, and brought others round upon our flanks, but did not venture to make a charge, or show any disposition to endanger himself, but ordered his men to use their slings and bows. 15. But when the Rhodians, who were dispersed among the ranks, began to use their slings, and the Scythian archers

discharged their arrows, no one failing to hit a man, (for it would not have been easy to do so, even if they had been ever so desirous,) Tissaphernes hastily retreated beyond reach of the missiles, and the other divisions drew off at the same time. 16. During the rest of the day the Greeks continued their march, and the enemy followed; but the Barbarians no longer harassed them with their usual skirmishing; for the Rhodians sent their missiles to a greater distance than the Persians, and than most of the bowmen. 17. The bows of the Persians, too, were large, so that such of their arrows as were taken up, were of service to the Cretans, who continued to use the enemy's arrows, and practised shooting by sending them far up into the air. A great number of bowstrings were also found in the villages, and some lead, so that they could use it for their slings.

18. For that day, therefore, as soon as the Greeks reached the villages and encamped, the Barbarians went off, having had the worst in the skirmish; and during the next the Greeks remained where they were, and collected provisions, for there was plenty of corn in the villages. The day after, they proceeded through the open country, and Tissaphernes followed, hurling missiles at them from a distance. 19. Here the Greeks found that a square was a bad disposition for an army when the enemy was behind them; for it must necessarily happen, that if the flanks of the square close together from the road being narrow, or from hills or a bridge making it necessary, that the heavy-armed men

must be pushed out of their places, and march with difficulty, being at the same time crowded together and thrown into confusion; so that when in such disorder, they must be nearly useless. 20. And when, again, the flanks divide, those who were previously forced out of their places, must now of necessity separate, and the space between the flanks be left empty; and men who are thrown into such a condition must doubtless lose heart, if the enemy are behind them. Whenever, too, they had to pass a bridge, or any other crossing-place, each hastened on to get first, and the enemy had then a fine opportunity of attacking them. 21. The generals, seeing that such was the case, formed six companies of a hundred men each, and appointed captains of these companies, as well as captains of fifty and captains of twenty-five. These captains and their companies, on the march, whenever the flanks of the square closed together, fell behind, so as to cause no disorder in the flanks, and then led on outside the flanks; 22. and whenever the sides of the square opened, they filled up the centre, if the opening was narrow, by companies; if rather wide, by fifties; if very wide, by twenty-fives; so that the centre was always full. 23. If, then, it was necessary to pass any defile or bridge, they were not thrown into confusion, but the captains and companies went over in succession; and if anything was needed in any part of the main body, these were at hand. In this order they advanced four days' journey.

24. As they were pursuing the fifth day's

march, they observed a kind of palace, and several villages around it. The way to this place, they perceived, lay among high hills, which reached down from a mountain, at the foot of which the village was. These hills the Greeks were glad to see, as was natural, when the enemy's force consisted of cavalry. 25. But when, after leaving the plain, they had ascended the first hill, and were descending in order to mount the second, the Barbarians came upon them, and from the eminence began, under the lash, to hurl darts, use their slings, and shoot arrows, on the ground below ; 26. they wounded many, and had the advantage over the light-armed Greeks, and shut them up within the heavy-armed ; so that both the slingers and archers were that day entirely useless, being mixed with the crowd that had charge of the baggage. 27. When the Greeks, on being hard pressed, attempted pursuit, they mounted the height but slowly, as being heavily armed, while the enemy sprang up speedily. 28. When, again, they retreated back to the rest of the force, they fared equally ill. The same occurrences took place on the second hill ; so that they thought it proper not to move the soldiers from the third hill, until they led up a body of peltasts to the mountain from the right wing of the square. 29. When these had got above the pursuing enemy, they no longer attacked them in their descent, fearing that they might be cut off from their own body, and that enemies might assail them on both sides. 30. Marching in this manner for the rest of the day, some by

the route among the hills, and others advancing abreast of them along the mountain, they arrived at the villages, and appointed eight surgeons, for there were many wounded.

31. Here they remained three days, both for the sake of the wounded, and because they found, at the same time, abundance of provisions, wheat-flour, wine, and a great quantity of barley laid up for horses; supplies which had been collected for the satrap of the country. On the fourth day they went down into the plain. 32. But as Tissaphernes overtook them with his forces, necessity taught them to encamp where they first saw a village, and not to march on still fighting; for there were many unfitted for action, some wounded, some carrying the wounded, and some bearing the arms of those that carried them. 33. When however they were encamped, and the Barbarians, coming up to the village, attempted to skirmish with them, the Greeks had greatly the advantage; for they found a great difference between sallying from their own ground to repulse the enemy, and fighting with a pursuing enemy on their march.

34. When evening approached, it became time for the enemy to retire; for the Barbarians never encamped at a less distance from the Greeks than sixty stadia, fearing lest the Greeks should attack them in the night. 35. For in the night a Persian army is difficult to manage; as their horses are tied, and for the most part fastened by the feet, that they may not run away if they should be untied; and if any sudden attack takes place, the Persians has

to put the housings on his horse, and to bridle him, and then, when he has put on his armour, to mount; but all these things are troublesome by night and in the midst of an alarm. On this account, they encamped at a distance from the Greeks.

36. As soon as the Greeks saw that they intended to retire, and were passing the order for doing so, proclamation was made among the Greeks, in the hearing of the enemy, that they were to collect their baggage; when the Barbarians, for some time, delayed their march; but, when it grew late, they went off, for they did not think it expedient to march and arrive at their camp in the night. 37. When the Greeks observed them evidently moving away, they themselves also decamped and began to march, and accomplished as much as sixty stadia. There was thus so great a distance between the armies, that the enemy did not appear on the following day or on the third; but on the fourth, the Barbarians, having gone forward in the night, occupied an elevated position on the right, on the route by which the Greeks were to pass; the brow of a mountain, beneath which was the descent into the plain. 38. As soon as Cheirisophus saw that this eminence was pre-occupied, he sent for Xenophon from the rear, and ordered him to bring his peltasts and come to the front. 39. Xenophon however did not bring the peltasts, (for he saw Tissaphernes, and all his force, in full view,) but, riding up alone, asked, "Why do you call me?" Cheirisophus replied, "You may see; for the eminence

the descent, has been pre-occupied against us, and it is impossible to pass, unless we cut off those who are on it. But why did you not bring the peltasts?" 40. Xenophon replied that he did not think it right to leave the rear unguarded when the enemy were in sight. "But it is high time," he continued, "to consider how some of us may dislodge those men from the hill." 41. Xenophon now noticed that the summit of the mountain was above their own army, and that there was a way from it to the hill where the enemy were, and exclaimed, "It is best for us, Cheirisophus, to hasten as quickly as possible to the summit, for if we gain this, those who are above our road will be unable to maintain their ground. But do you, if you please, remain with the army; I have a desire to go forward; or, if you prefer it, proceed on to the mountain, and I will stay here." 42. "I leave you," replied Cheirisophus, "to choose which of the two you please." Xenophon, observing that he was the younger, decided on advancing, but requested Cheirisophus to send with him a detachment from the front, as it was too great a distance to bring one from the rear. 43. Cheirisophus then sent with him the peltasts from the front; and he took those that were in the middle of the square. Cheirisophus also ordered the three hundred that he had with him at the head of the square, consisting of picked men, to follow Xenophon.

44. The party then marched forward with all possible speed. But the enemy on the heights, they perceived that the Greeks were



directing their course towards the summit, hurried forward also themselves to contend for the possession of the summit. 45. There was then great shouting from the Grecian army, cheering their men, and great shouting also from the troops of Tissaphernes, cheering on theirs. 46. Xenophon, riding along on horseback, encouraged his party, saying, "Consider, soldiers, that you are contending for Greece; that after a brief struggle now, we shall march the rest of the way without fighting, to join our children and our wives." 47. Soterides, a Sicyonian, cried out, "We are not upon an equality, Xenophon; for you are carried on a horse, while I have hard work to carry my shield." 48. Xenophon, on hearing this remark, leaped from his horse, pushed Soterides from the ranks, took from him his shield, and marched on with it as fast as he was able. He happened however to have on his horseman's corselet, so that he was distressed. Yet he continued to exhort the men in front to lead on gently, and those behind, who followed with difficulty, to come up. 49. But the rest of the soldiers beat and threw stones at Soterides, and reviled him, till they obliged him to resume his shield and march in his place. Xenophon, remounting, led the way, as long as it was passable for his horse, on horseback, but when it became impassable, he left his horse behind, and hastened forward on foot. Thus they got the start of the enemy, and arrived first at the summit.

## CHAPTER V.

The Greeks arrive at a point where the Carduchian mountains overhang the river, and, as they are still harassed by the enemy, the generals hold a consultation, and determine to march across the mountains.

1. THE Barbarians, in consequence, turned their backs and fled every one as he could, and the Greeks took possession of the top of the hill. Tissaphernes and Ariæus turned aside, and went off in another direction. Cheirisophus and his forces, going down into the plain, encamped in a village abounding with acceptable supplies; and there were also in this plain many other villages stored with excellent provisions, lying along the river Tigris. 2. When it was evening, the enemy suddenly showed themselves in the plain, and cut off some of the Greeks who were dispersed over the ground foraging; for several herds of cattle had been intercepted as they were being transported to the other side of the river. 3. Here Tissaphernes and his party attempted to set fire to the villages, and some of the Greeks were much disheartened, being apprehensive that, if they should burn them, they would have no place whence to procure supplies.

4. Cheirisophus and his men now returned from giving succor; and Xenophon, when he came down, riding past the ranks, as the Greeks, coming in from affording aid, met him, said, 5. "You see, Greeks, that the enemy admit that the country is now ours, for whereas they stipulated,

when they made the truce, that we should not burn the king's country, they now burn it themselves, as being no longer theirs. But wherever they leave supplies for themselves, thither also they shall see us direct our march. 6. I think, however, Cheirisophus," continued he, "that we ought to resist these burners, as if in defence of our own territory." "I," replied Cheirisophus, "am of a different opinion; rather let us burn also," said he, "and thus they will the sooner cease."

7. When they returned to their quarters, the soldiers busied themselves about their provisions, but the generals and captains held a council. There was now much perplexity; for on one side of them were exceeding high mountains, and on the other a river of such depth that, when they sounded it, their spears did not rise above the water. 8. While they were in doubt how to act, a Rhodian came to them, and said, "I am willing to convey you across, O Greeks, by four thousand heavy-armed men at a time, if you will furnish me with what I require for the purpose, and give me a talent as a remuneration." 9. Being asked what he should require, he replied, "I shall want two thousand hides made into bags; and I see here many sheep, goats, oxen, and asses, the hides of which, being blown out, would easily furnish the means of crossing. 10. I shall want also the ropes which you use for the baggage-cattle; joining, with these, the bags to one another, steadying each bag by attaching stones to it, letting the stones down like anchors into the water, extending the bags

across the stream, and securing them to both banks, I will then lay wood upon them, and strew earth over the wood. 11. That you will not sink, you will at once see; for each skin will prevent two men from sinking, and the wood and earth will keep them from slipping off." 12. The generals, on hearing this proposal, thought the invention ingenious, but the execution of it impossible, for there were numerous cavalry on the other side to hinder their passage, who, at the commencement, would not have allowed the first that made the attempt to effect their purposes.

13. The next day they retreated back towards Babylon, to some unburnt villages, having first set fire to those which they abandoned; so that the enemy did not come up to them, but watched them, and seemed to be wondering which way the Greeks would turn themselves, and what they had in their mind. 14. The rest of the soldiers then turned their thoughts to getting supplies; but the generals and captains held another council, and, bringing together the prisoners, questioned them as to the whole country around, what each part was. 15. They said that the parts toward the south were on the road towards Babylon and Media, through which the Greeks had come; that the road towards the east led to Susa and Ecbatana, where the king was said to pass the summer and spring; that the one across the river, towards the west, led to Lydia and Ionia; and that the other over the mountains, towards the north, led to the Carduchi. 16. This people, they said, lived

among the mountains, were very warlike, and did not obey the king; that on one occasion, a royal army of a hundred and twenty thousand men had penetrated into their country, whence, from the impracticability of the ground, not one of them returned; but that, whenever they made a treaty with the satrap of the plain, some of them had intercourse with the Carduchi, and some of the Carduchi with them. 17. The generals, having heard these statements, kept apart by themselves those who said that they knew the road in each direction, not letting it be known which way they intended to go. It appeared necessary to the generals, however, to make their way over the mountains into the country of the Carduchi; for the prisoners said that after passing through this they would come to Armenia, a large and rich country, of which Orontes was governor, whence it would be easy for them to go whichever way they pleased.

18. With reference to this proceeding, they made a sacrifice, in order that, when it should seem time, they might commence their march; for they were afraid that the passage over the mountains might be pre-occupied by the enemy; and they gave orders, that when the soldiers had supped, they should all pack up their baggage and go to rest, and follow their leaders whenever the signal should be given.

## BOOK IV.

## CHAPTER I.

The Greeks enter the territory of the Carduchi, where they suffer greatly from the wind and cold, as well as from the Barbarians, who harass them with frequent attacks on their march.

1. WHAT occurred in the expedition up the country to the time of the battle, and what took place after the battle during the truce which the king and the Greeks that went up with Cyrus concluded, and what hostilities were committed against the Greeks after the king and Tissaphernes had violated the truce, and while the Persian army was pursuing them, have been related in the preceding part of the narrative.

2. When they had arrived at a spot where the Tigris was quite impassable from its depth and width, and where there was no passage along its banks, as the Carduchian mountains hung steep over the stream, it appeared to the generals that they must march over those mountains, 3. for they had heard from the prisoners that "if they could but cross the Carduchian mountains, they would be able to ford, if they wished, the sources of the Tigris in Armenia, or, if they declined doing so, to make a circuit around them." The sources of the Euphrates, too, they said were not far from those of the Tigris; and such is the truth.

4. Their entrance upon the territory of the Carduchi they made in the following manner, endeavouring at once to escape observation, and to anticipate the enemy in getting possession of the heights. 5. When it was about the last watch, and enough of the night was left to allow them to cross the plain under cover of the darkness, they arose at a given signal, and, marching onwards, reached the hills by break of day. 6. Here Cheirisophus took the lead of the army, having with him both his own men and all the light-armed; while Xenophon brought up the rear with the heavy-armed troops, having not a single light-armed soldier; for there seemed to be no danger that any of the enemy would attack them in the rear as they were marching up the mountains. Cheirisophus indeed mounted the summit before any of the enemy perceived him; he then led slowly forward; 7. and each portion of the army, as it passed the summit in succession, followed him to the villages which lay in the windings and recesses of the mountains. 8. The Carduchi, in consequence, quitting their dwellings, and taking with them their wives and children, fled to the hills. There was plenty of provisions left for the Greeks to take; and the houses were furnished with great numbers of brazen utensils, none of which the Greeks took away. Nor did they pursue the people, being inclined to spare them, if by chance the Carduchi, since they were enemies to the king, might consent to allow them to pass through their country as that of friends; 9. the provisions, however, as many as fell in their

way, they carried off; for it was a matter of necessity to do so. But as for the Carduchi themselves, they would neither listen when they called, nor did they give any other sign of friendly feeling.

10. But when the rear of the Greeks was descending from the hills into the villages, being now overtaken by darkness, (for, as the way was narrow, their ascent of the heights, and descent to the villages, had lasted the entire day,) some of the Carduchi, collecting together, attacked the hindmost, and killed and wounded some of them with stones and arrows. They were but few; for the Greek troops had come on them unawares; 11. but had they assembled in greater numbers, a great part of the army would have been in danger of being destroyed. For this night, accordingly, they took up their abode in the villages; and the Carduchi lighted a number of fires around them on the hills, and observed the positions of one another. 12. As soon as it was day, the generals and captains of the Greeks, meeting together, resolved, when they should march, to reserve only such of the baggage-cattle as were most necessary and most able, abandoning the rest, and to dismiss all the slaves in the army that had been recently captured; 13. for the cattle and the slaves, being numerous, rendered their progress slow, and the number of men in charge of them were unable to take part in any encounter; and besides, when the men were so numerous, it was necessary to procure and carry with them a double quantity of provisions. This resolution being passed, they



made proclamation that the troops should act accordingly.

14. When they had breakfasted, and were on the march, the generals, taking their stand in a narrow part of the way, took from the soldiers whatever of the things mentioned they found had not been left behind; and the men submitted to this, unless any of them, smitten with desire of a handsome boy or woman, conveyed them past secretly. Thus they proceeded during this day, sometimes having to fight a little, and sometimes resting themselves. 15. On the next day a great storm arose; but they were obliged to pursue their march, for they had not a sufficient supply of provisions. Cheirisophus continued to lead, and Xenophon had charge of the rear. 16. The enemy pressed steadily upon them, and, where the passes were narrow, came close up, and used their bows and their slings; so that the Greeks, sometimes pursuing and sometimes retreating, were compelled to march but slowly; and Xenophon, when the enemy attacked them violently, had frequently to pass the word for a halt. 17. Cheirisophus, at other times, when the order was passed, halted, but on one occasion he did not halt, but hurried on rapidly, and passed the word to follow; so that it was manifest that there was something extraordinary; but there was no time to go forward and ascertain the cause of the haste; and the march of the rear-guard became like a flight. 18. On this occasion a brave soldier, Cleonymus a Lacedæmonian, met his death, being shot with an arrow in the side through

his shield and corslet; and also Basias, an Arcadian, shot right through the head.

19. When they arrived at the place of encampment, Xenophon immediately proceeded, just as he was, to Cheirisophus, and blamed him for not having halted, as the men had been compelled to flee and fight at the same time. "Two honourable and brave soldiers," said he, "have now been killed, and we have been unable either to carry off their bodies or bury them." 20. To this remark Cheirisophus answered, "Cast your eyes upon those mountains, and observe how impassable they all are. The only road which you see is steep; and close upon it you may perceive a great multitude of men, who, having occupied the pass, keep guard at it. 21. For these reasons I hastened on, and therefore did not wait for you, to try if I could get the start of the enemy before the pass was seized; and the guides whom we have say that there is no other road." 22. Xenophon rejoined, "I have two prisoners; for when the enemy molested us, we placed an ambush, which enabled us to recover breath, and killed some of them; and we were also anxious to take some alive for this very purpose, that we might use them, as being well acquainted with the country, for guides."

23. Immediately after, bringing forward the two men, they inquired of them separately whether they knew of any other road than that which was open to their view. The one denied that he knew of any other, though many threats were held out to him; and as he would give no

useful information, he was put to death in sight of the other. 24. The survivor said that the other had denied any knowledge of a road, because he had a daughter there married to somebody, but stated that he himself would lead them by a road that might be passed even by beasts of burden. 25. Being then asked if there was any spot in it difficult to be passed, he replied that there was one height, and that unless a party secured it before-hand, it would be impossible for them to pass. 26. Upon this it was thought proper to call together the captains, both of the peltasts and of the heavy-armed men, and to acquaint them with the prospect of affairs, and ask whether any of them was willing to prove himself a man of valour, and engage to go on this service as a volunteer. 27. Of the heavy-armed, Aristonymus of Methydrium, and Agasias of Stymphalus, both Arcadians, offered themselves; and Callimachus of Parrhasia, also an Arcadian, disputed the honour with them, and said that he himself was eager to go, taking with him volunteers from the whole army; "for I am sure," said he, "that many of the young men will follow if I take the lead." 28. They then asked if any of the officers of the light-armed troops were willing to join in the attempt; and Aristneas of Chios presented himself, a man who had often proved himself of great value to the army for similar services.

## CHAPTER II.

One of the prisoners is forced to guide them to an eminence, from which they dislodge the Carduchi. But they are still harassed, and the rear suffers severely.

1. It was now afternoon, and the generals desired the party to take some refreshment and set forward. Having bound the guide, they put him into their hands, and arranged with them, that, if they should gain the summit, they should keep guard at that post during the night, and give a signal by trumpet at break of day, and that those on the height should then charge the enemy in possession of the apparent egress, and those below should issue forth and come in a body to their assistance as soon as they were able.

2. When they had made this arrangement, the party set out, being in number about two thousand; and there was heavy rain at the time. Xenophon, taking the rear-guard, led them towards the apparent egress, in order that the enemy might turn their attention in that direction, and that those who were going round might as much as possible escape notice. 3. But when the rear-guard came to a ravine, which they had to pass to gain the ascent, the Barbarians then rolled down masses of rock, each big enough to load a waggon, with other stones greater and smaller, which, striking in their descent against the rocks, were hurled abroad in all directions; and it was utterly impossible even to approach the pass. 4. Some of the captains, when they could not suc-

ceed in this part, made attempts in another, and continued their efforts till darkness came on. When they thought that they might retire unobserved, they went to get their supper; for the rear-guard had been dinnerless that day. The enemy, however, being evidently in fear, continued to roll down stones through the whole of the night, as it was easy to conjecture from the noise. 5. Those, meanwhile, who had the guide, taking a circuitous route, surprised a guard of the enemy sitting round a fire, and, having killed some of them, and put the rest to flight, remained on the spot, with the notion that they were in possession of the summit. 6. But in possession of it they were not, for there was a small hill above them, round which lay the narrow pass, at which the guard had been posted. However, there was a way from thence to that party of the enemy who were stationed at the open egress. 7. Here they remained during the night.

As soon as day began to dawn, they advanced in regular order, and with silence, against the enemy; and as there was a mist, they came close upon them before they were perceived. But when they caught sight of one another, the trumpet sounded on the side of the Greeks, who, raising the shout of battle, rushed upon the enemy. The Barbarians did not stand their charge, but quitted the pass and fled; only a few of them were killed, for they were active in moving off. 8. At the same time the party of Cheirisophus, hearing the sound of the trumpet, marched immediately up the plain track; while

others of the officers proceeded by untrodden paths, where each happened to be, and, climbing up as well as they could, drew up one another with their spears; 9. and these were the first to join those who had secured the position. Xenophon, with the half of the rear-guard, went up by the same way as those who had the guide; for it was the most practicable for the baggage-cattle; the other half he ordered to come up behind the cattle. 10. In their way they came to a hill overhanging the road, which was occupied by the enemy, whom they must either dislodge or be separated from the rest of the Greeks. The men themselves, indeed, might have gone the same way as the rest of the army, but the baggage-cattle could ascend by no other route than this. 11. Encouraging one another, therefore, they made an attack upon the hill in files, not on every side, but leaving a way of escape for the enemy, if they should be inclined to flee. 12. For a while, as they were making their way as each best could, the Barbarians shot arrows and threw stones at them, but did not receive them in close encounter, and at last abandoned the place entirely.

The Greeks had no sooner passed the hill, than they caught sight of another before them occupied also by the enemy. Upon this hill it was resolved likewise to make an assault. 13. But Xenophon, apprehending that, if he left the hill which they had taken unguarded, the enemy, recovering it, might attack the baggage-cattle as they were passing; (for the train of baggage-cattle reached at great distance, as they were

marching along a narrow path.) left upon the hill the captains Cephisodorus the son of Cephisophon, an Athenian, Amphicrates the son of Amyhidemus, an Athenian, and Archagoras, an exile from Argos, while he himself, with the others, directed his march upon the second hill, which they also captured in a similar manner.

14. However, there was still a third hill left for them to take, which was by far the steepest of the whole; this was an eminence that overhung the post where the guard was surprised in the night by the volunteers. 15. But as the Greeks came up, the Barbarians deserted the hill without attempting any defence, so that all were surprised, and suspected that they had left their position from fear of being surrounded and besieged in it. But the truth was, that having observed from the eminence what had passed behind, they all went off with the intention of attacking the rear.

16. Xenophon, with the youngest of his men, ascended to the top, and ordered the rest to march on slowly, so that the companies in the rear might join them; and he directed them, after proceeding some distance, to halt under arms, on a level piece of ground. 17. At this juncture Aristagoras the Argive, came fleeing from the enemy, and said that the Greeks were driven from the first hill, and that Cephisodorus, and Amphicrates, and all the rest, who had not leaped from the rock, and joined the rear-guard, had been killed. 18. The Barbarians, after this success, appeared upon an eminence opposite the third hill, and Xenophon began to treat with

them, through an interpreter, about making a truce, and called upon them to give up the dead. 19. They replied, that they would give them up on condition that he would not burn their villages. To this Xenophon agreed. But while the rest of the army was passing on, and these were discussing the terms of a truce, all the Barbarians from that part of the country had flocked together. Here the enemy made a stand; 20. and when Xenophon's party began to descend the hill, to join the others where the heavy-armed troops were drawn up, they came forward in great numbers and with loud shouts. When they had reached the top of the hill from which Xenophon was descending, they rolled down stones, and broke the leg of one man; and Xenophon's shield-bearer deserted him, carrying off his shield, 21. but Eurylochus, an Arcadian from Lusias, a heavy-armed soldier, ran to his support, and went on holding his shield before them both; and the rest went to join those who were already drawn up.

22. The entire Grecian force was now together, and took up their quarters in a number of good houses, and in the midst of abundance of provisions. Wine was so abundant, that they kept it in excavations under ground, which were plastered over. 23. Xenophon and Cheirisophus now made an agreement with the enemy, that on receiving the dead bodies they should give up the guide; and they performed all funeral rites for the deceased, as far as they could, according to what is usually done at the interment of brave men. 24. The next day



they proceeded without a guide ; and the enemy, sometimes by skirmishing, and sometimes, where there was a narrow pass, by pre-occupying it, endeavoured to obstruct their progress. 25. Whenever therefore they impeded the front, Xenophon, ascending the hills from the rear, endeavoured to break through the opposition made in that quarter, trying always to reach higher ground than the obstructing enemy ; 26. and when they assailed the rear, Cheirisophus, quitting his place, and striving also to get above the enemy, removed the obstruction that was offered to the passage of that part of the army. Thus they relieved and supported each other with effect. 27. Sometimes, too, when the Greeks had ascended eminences, the Barbarians gave them great annoyance in their descent ; and, as they were nimble, they could escape, though they had but a very short start of us ; for they were encumbered with no other weapons than bows and slings. 28. As archers they were very expert, and had bows nearly three cubits long, and arrows above two cubits ; and they drew the string, whenever they discharged their arrows, advancing the left foot against the lower extremity of the bow. Their arrows penetrated through shields and corslets ; and the Greeks, taking them up, made use of them as javelins, fixing thongs to them. In these parts the Cretans were of the greatest service. Stratocles, a Cretan, had the command of them.

## CHAPTER III.

The Greeks arrive at the river Centrites, which divides the Carduchi from Armenia. They see the Persians drawn up on the opposite bank, while the Carduchi threaten their rear. They are encouraged by a dream of Xenophon's to try a ford, and effect a safe passage across the stream.

1. THIS day the Greeks abode in the villages above the plain near the river Centrites, the breadth of which is about two-hundred feet, and which forms the boundary between Armenia and the territory of the Carduchi. Here they took some rest, being glad to see a piece of level country. The river is distant from the mountains of the Carduchi about six or seven stadia.

2. It was with great satisfaction that they stayed here, as they had a sufficiency of provisions, and were frequently reflecting on the difficulties that were past, for, during seven days that they had been marching among the Carduchi, they had been constantly fighting, and had suffered more evils than all those which they had endured from the king and Tissaphernes. Having escaped from such hardships, they gladly took repose.

3. At day-break, however, they perceived on the other side of the river a body of cavalry, in complete armour, ready to prevent them from crossing, and on the high banks above the cavalry, another of foot prepared to hinder them from entering Armenia. 4. These were Armenians, Mardians and Chaldæans, mercenary troops of Orontes and Artuchas. The Chaldæans were said to be a free people, and warlike; for arms

they had long shields and spears. 5. The high banks on which these forces were drawn up, were three or four hundred feet from the river; and the only road that was visible was one that led upward, apparently a work of art. Here the Greeks endeavoured to cross, 6. but as, on making trial, the water rose above their breasts, and the bed of the river was rough with large and slippery stones, and as it was impossible for them to carry their arms in the water, or, if they attempted to do so, the river swept them away, (while, if any of them took their arms on their heads, they became exposed to the arrows and other missils of the enemy,) they in consequence retreated, and encamped at the side of the river.

7. They now perceived the Carduchi assembled in great numbers under arms on the spot where they themselves had been on the previous night. Hence great despondency was felt by the Greeks, as they knew the difficulty of passing the river, and saw the Carduchi ready to attack them if they attempted to cross. 8. This day, therefore, and the following night, they remained where they were in great perplexity. Xenophon however had a dream; he thought that he was bound in fetters, but that they fell off him of their own accord, so that he was set at liberty, and walked securely whithersoever he pleased. 9. When the morning approached, he went to Cheirisophus, told him that he had hopes that all would be well, and related to him his dream. Cheirisophus was much pleased, and, as soon as it was day, all the generals who

were present offered sacrifice, and the victims were favourable at the very first. As soon as they left the place of sacrifice, the generals and captains gave directions to the troops to take their breakfast.

10. While Xenophon was at breakfast, two young men came running up to him, for every one knew that it was allowable to approach him whether breakfasting or supping, and to wake him and speak to him even when asleep, if they had anything to tell of affairs relating to the war. 11. The youths informed him that they had been gathering sticks for their fire, and had chanced to see, on the opposite side of the river, among the rocks that reached down to the stream itself, an old man, a woman, and some girls, depositing in a cavernous rock what appeared to be bags of clothes; 12. that when they saw this, they thought it would be safe to cross, as the ground at that point was inaccessible to the enemy's horse; that having taken off their clothes, and taken their daggers in their hands, they went over undressed, in expectation of having to swim, but that, as they went on, they reached the other side before they were wet to the middle, and, having thus forded the stream and taken the clothes, they came back again. 13. Xenophon immediately therefore made a libation, and ordered the young men to join in it, and to pray to the gods who had sent the dream and pointed out the ford, to complete what was wanting to their success. After the libation, he at once conducted the youths to Cheirisophus, and to him they gave the same

account. Cheirisophus, on hearing it, made a libation also.

14. When the libation was over, they gave orders to the soldiers to get their baggage ready; while they themselves, calling the rest of the generals together, consulted with them how they might cross the river to the best advantage, and how they might defeat the enemy in front, and suffer no damage from those in the rear. 15. It was then resolved that Cheirisophus should take the lead, and cross over with half of the army, that the other half should stay behind with Xenophon, and that the baggage-cattle and camp-followers should go over between the two. 16. When these matters were fairly arranged, they began to move, the young men acting as guides, and keeping the river on the left, the distance to the ford being about four stadia. 17. As they proceeded, the lines of the enemy's cavalry advanced abreast of them on the opposite bank; and when they came to the ford, and the margin of the river, they halted, laying down their arms; and then Cheirisophus himself, placing a chaplet upon his head, and laying aside his outer garments, took up his arms and commanded the rest to follow his example, and directing the captains to lead their troops in files, some on his left hand, and some on his right. 18. The augurs at the same time sacrificed victims over the river; while the enemy plied their bows and slings, but did not reach the Greeks. 19. As the sacrifices appeared favourable, all the soldiers sung the pæan and raised a shout, and all the women (for there

were a number of the men's mistresses in the army) joined in the cry.

20. Cheirisophus and his men then entered the stream; and Xenophon, taking the most active of the rear-guard, marched at full speed back to the ford opposite the outlet into the mountains of Armenia, making a feint that he meant to cross the river there, and thus cut off the cavalry that were on the bank; 21. when the enemy, seeing Cheirisophus and his men crossing over with ease, and Xenophon and his party hurrying back, were afraid of being intercepted, and fled with precipitation to gain the outlet that led up from the river, and as soon as they came to that passage, they directed their course up into the mountains. 22. Lycius, who had the command of the troop of horse, and Æschines who commanded the band of peltasts, attending on Cheirisophus, seeing the enemy retreating with so much haste, set off in pursuit of them; and the rest of the soldiers called to each other not to stay behind, but to go along with them up the mountains. 23. But Cheirisophus, when he had crossed the river, did not follow the cavalry, but made his way up the high banks that reached down to the river, to attack that portion of the enemy that were on a more elevated ground. This party on the heights, however, seeing their cavalry take to flight, abandoned their commanding position above the stream.

24. Xenophon, when he saw that all was going well on the other side, returned with all possible speed to join that part of the army

which was crossing over; for the Carduchi were evidently descending into the plain, with the view of falling upon the rear. 25. Cheirisophus was now in possession of the heights, and Lycius, who, with his small party, had proceeded in pursuit of the enemy, had captured some of their baggage that they had left behind, and amongst it some rich garments and drinking-cups. 26. The baggage and camp followers of the Greeks were still in the act of crossing; and Xenophon, turning towards the Carduchi, halted under arms over against them, and ordered the captains to form each his own company into divisions of five and twenty men, bringing round each division in line towards the left; and he directed both the captains, and the officers of the divisions of five and twenty, to advance facing the Carduchi, and the rearmost to halt facing the river.

27. The Carduchi, when they observed that the rear-guard of the camp-followers was diminished in number, and that they seemed now indeed to be but few, advanced at a quicker pace, singing at the same time certain songs. Cheirisophus, when he saw that all was safe on his own side, sent the peltasts, and the slingers and archers, to Xenophon, desiring them to do whatsoever he should direct. 28. Xenophon, seeing them beginning to cross, sent a messenger to desire that they should remain by the river where they were, without crossing, and that, when his own party should begin to cross, they should come forward into the water on each side opposite to him, the javelin-men holding their

weapons by the thong, and the archers with their arrows on the string, as if with the intention of crossing over, but not to advance far into the river. 29. His own men he ordered, as soon as a sling should reach them and a shield should ring, to raise the pæan and rush towards the enemy; and he directed that when the enemy should take to flight, and the trumpeter should sound the signal of attack from the river, the rear should wheel to the right and take the lead, and that they should then all run forward as fast as possible, and cross over at that part where each happened to be stationed, so as not to impede one another; telling them that he would be the best man who should first reach the opposite side. 30. The Carduchi, seeing that those who were left were but few, (for many even of those who had been ordered to stay had gone away, some to take care of the cattle, some of their baggage, and others of their mistresses,) began, in consequence to press forward boldly, and to use their slings and bows. 31. The Greeks then sang the pæan, and rushed upon them at full speed; and the Barbarians did not stand their charge; for though they were well enough equipped for a sudden onset and retreat upon the mountains, they were by no means sufficiently armed to receive an enemy hand to hand. At this juncture the trumpeter sounded, 32. when the enemy fled still faster, and the Greeks turning in the opposite direction, made their way over the river with all possible speed.

33. Some of the enemy, perceiving this movement, ran back to the river, and wounded a



few of our men with their arrows; but the greater number of them, even when the Greeks were on the other side, were observed to continue their flight. 34. The troops, meanwhile, that came to meet Xenophon, being carried away by their courage, and advancing too far, repassed the river in the rear of Xenophon's men; and some of these also were wounded.

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## CHAPTER IV.

The Greeks enter Armenia, pass the sources of the Tigris, and arrive at the Teleboas. They make a treaty with Tiribazus, the governor of the province, and discover his insincerity.

1. WHEN they had crossed and had arranged themselves in order about noon, they proceeded through the country of Armenia, consisting wholly of plains and gently sloping hills, a distance of not less than five parasangs; for there were no villages near the river, in consequence of the hostilities with the Carduchi. 2. The village, however, at which they at length arrived, was of considerable size, and contained a palace for the satrap; upon most of the houses there were towers, and provisions were in great plenty.

3. Hence they proceeded, two days' journey, a distance of ten parasangs, until they passed round the sources of the river Tigris. From hence they advanced, three days' journey, fifteen parasangs, to the river Teleboas, a stream not large, indeed, but of much beauty; and there were

many villages on its banks. 4. This part of the country was called Western Armenia. The deputy-governor of it was Tiribazus, who was an intimate friend of the king; and no one else, when he was present, assisted the king to mount his horse. 5. He now rode up with a body of cavalry, and sending forward an interpreter, said that he wished to speak with the commanders. The generals thought proper to hear what he had to say, and, advancing within hearing, asked what he wanted. 6. He replied, that he wished to make a treaty with them, on the conditions that he himself should not hurt the Greeks, and that the Greeks should not burn the houses, but should be at liberty to take such provisions as they required. This proposal was agreeable to the generals, and they concluded a treaty upon these terms.

7. Hence they proceeded, three days' march, a distance of fifteen parasangs, through a plain; and Tiribazus followed them with his troops, keeping at the distance of about ten stadia. They then came to a palace, with several villages around it stored with abundance of provisions. 8. While they were encamped, there fell a great quantity of snow in the night; and in the morning it was thought advisable that the companies and officers should take up their quarters in the neighbouring villages; for they perceived no enemy, and it appeared to be safe on account of the quantity of the snow. 9. Here they found all kinds of excellent provisions, cattle, corn, old wines of great fragrance, dried grapes, and vegetables of all kinds.

Some of the soldiers, however, who had strolled away from the camp, brought word that they had caught sight of an army, and that many fires had been visible during the night.

10. The generals thought it unsafe, therefore, for the troops to quarter apart, and resolved to bring the whole army together again. They accordingly assembled, for it seemed to be clearing up. 11. But as they were passing the night here, there fell a vast quantity of snow, so that it covered both the arms and the men as they lay on the ground. The snow cramped the baggage-cattle, and they were very reluctant to rise; for, as they lay, the snow that had fallen upon them served to keep them warm, when it had not dropped off. 12. But when Xenophon was hardy enough to rise without his outer garment, and to cleave wood, some one else then rose, and, taking the wood from him, cleft it himself. Soon after, the rest got up, and lighted fires and anointed themselves; 13. for abundance of ointment was found there, made of hog's lard, sesamum, bitter almonds, and turpentine, which they used instead of oil. Of the same materials also an odoriferous unguent was found.

14. After this it was resolved to quarter again throughout the villages, under shelter; and the soldiers went off with great shouting and delight to the cottages and provisions. Those who had set fire to the houses, when they quitted them before, paid the penalty of having to encamp uncomfortably in the open air. 15. Hence they despatched in the night Democrates of Temenos, giving him a detachment of men, to

the hills where the stragglers said that they had seen the fires; they selected him because he was thought on several former occasions to have brought exact information concerning such matters, reporting what was, just as it appeared, and what was not, as not existing. 16. Having gone, he said that he saw no fires, but he brought him a captive that he had taken, having a Persian bow and quiver, and a short battle-ax, such as the Amazons have. 17. Being asked of what country he was, he said that he was a Persian, and that he was going from the army of Tiribazus to get provisions. They then asked him how large the army was, and for what purpose it was assembled. 18. He said that Tiribazus had his own troops, and some mercenaries from the Chalybes and Taochians; and that he was prepared to attack the Greeks in their passage over the mountains, at a narrow defile through which lay their only road.

19. The generals, on hearing this, resolved to collect the army, and, leaving a guard, with Sophænetus the Stymphalian as commander over those who stayed behind, proceeded to march without delay, taking the man that had been captured for their guide. 20. After they had passed the mountains, the peltasts, who went before the rest, and were the first to discover the enemy's camp, did not wait for the heavy-armed men, but ran forward with a shout to attack it. 21. The Barbarians, hearing the noise, did not stand their ground, but fled; some of them however were killed, and about twenty horses taken, as was also the tent of Tiribazus, and in

it some couches with silver feet, and drinking-cups, and some prisoners, who said that they were bakers and cup-bearers. 22. When the officers of the heavy-armed troops heard what had taken place, they resolved upon marching back as fast as possible, to their own camp, lest any attempt should be made on those who had been left there. Calling in the men immediately, therefore, by sound of trumpet, they returned to the camp the same day.

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## CHAPTER V.

The Greeks march through an uninhabited track of country, suffering greatly from cold winds, snow, and want of provisions. At length they reach some well-stored villages, where they rest seven days.

1. THE next day it was thought necessary to march away as fast as possible, before the enemy's force should be reassembled, and get possession of the pass. Collecting their baggage at once, therefore, they set forward through a deep snow, taking with them several guides; and, having the same day passed the height on which Tiribazus had intended to attack them, they encamped. 2. Hence they proceeded three days' journey through a desert tract of country, a distance of fifteen parasangs, to the river Euphrates, and passed it without being wet higher than the middle. The sources of the river were said not to be far off. 3. From hence they advanced three days' march, through much

snow and a level plain, a distance of fifteen parasangs; the third days' march was extremely troublesome, as the north-wind blew full in their faces, completely parching up everything and benumbing the men. 4. One of the augurs, in consequence, advised that they should sacrifice to the wind; and a sacrifice was accordingly offered; when the vehemence of the wind appeared to every one manifestly to abate. The depth of the snow was a fathom; so that many of the baggage-cattle and slaves perished, with about thirty of the soldiers. 5. They continued to burn fires through the whole night, for there was plenty of wood at the place of encampment. But those who came up late could get no wood; those therefore who had arrived before, and had kindled fires, would not admit the late comers to the fire unless they gave them a share of the corn or other provisions that they had brought. 6. Thus they shared with each other what they respectively had. In the places where the fires were made, as the snow melted, there were formed large pits that reached down to the ground; and here there was accordingly opportunity to measure the depth of the snow.

7. From hence they marched through snow the whole of the following day, and many of the men contracted the *bulimia*. Xenophon, who commanded in the rear, finding in his way such of the men as had fallen down with it, knew not what disease it was. 8. But as one of those acquainted with it, told him that they were evidently affected with *bulimia*, and that they would get up if they had something to eat, he

went round among the baggage, and, wherever he saw anything eatable, he gave it out, and sent such as were able to run to distribute it among those diseased, who, as soon as they had eaten, rose up and continued their march. 9. As they proceeded, Cheirisophus came, just as it grew dark, to a village, and found, at a spring in front of the rampart, some women and girls belonging to the place fetching water. 10. The women asked them who they were; and the interpreter answered, in the Persian language, that they were people going from the king to the satrap. They replied that he was not there, but about a parasang off. However, as it was late, they went with the water-carriers within the rampart, to the head man of the village; 11. and here Cheirisophus, and as many of the troops as could come up, encamped; but of the rest, such as were unable to get to the end of the journey spent the night on the way without food or fire; and some of the soldiers lost their lives on that occasion. 12. Some of the enemy too, who had collected themselves into a body, pursued our rear, and seized any of the baggage-cattle that were unable to proceed, fighting with one another for the possession of them. Such of the soldiers, also, as had lost their sight from the effects of the snow, or had had their toes mortified by the cold, were left behind. 13. It was found to be a relief to the eyes against the snow, if the soldiers kept something black before them on the march, and to the feet, if they kept constantly in motion, and allowed themselves no rest, and if they took off their shoes in the night;

14. but to such as sleep with their shoes on, the straps worked into their feet, and the soles were frozen about them; for when their old shoes had failed them, shoes of raw hides had been made by the men themselves from newly-skinned oxen.

15. From such unavoidable sufferings, some of the soldiers were left behind, who seeing a piece of ground of a black appearance, from the snow having disappeared there, conjectured that it must have melted; and it had in fact melted in the spot from the effect of a fountain, which was sending up vapour in a woody hollow close at hand. Turning aside thither, they sat down and refused to proceed farther.

16. Xenophon, who was with the rear-guard, as soon as he heard this, tried to prevail on them by every art and means not to be left behind, telling them, at the same time, that the enemy were collected, and pursuing them in great numbers. At last he grew angry; and they told him to kill them, as they were quite unable to go forward.

17. He then thought it the best course to strike a terror, if possible, into the enemy that were behind, lest they should fall upon the exhausted soldiers. It was now dark, and the enemy were advancing with a great noise, quarrelling about the booty that they had taken;

18. when such of the rear-guard as were not disabled, started up, and rushed towards them, while the tired men, shouting as loud as they could, clashed their spears against their shields. The enemy, struck with alarm, threw themselves among the snow into the hollow, and no one of them afterwards made themselves heard from any quarter.



19. Xenophon, and those with him, telling the sick men that a party should come to their relief next day, proceeded on their march, but before they had gone four stadia, they found other soldiers resting by the way in the snow, and covered up with it, no guard being stationed over them. They roused them up, but they said that the head of the army was not moving forward. 20. Xenophon, going past them, and sending on some of the ablest of the peltasts, ordered them to ascertain what it was that hindered their progress. They brought word that the whole army was in that manner taking rest.

21. Xenophon and his men, therefore, stationing such a guard as they could, took up their quarters there without fire or supper. When it was near day, he sent the youngest of his men to the sick, telling them to rouse them and oblige them to proceed. 22. At this juncture Cheirisophus sent some of his people from the villages to see how the rear were faring. The young men were rejoiced to see them, and gave them the sick to conduct to the camp, while they themselves went forward, and, before they had gone twenty stadia, found themselves at the village in which Cheirisophus was quartered. 23. When they came together, it was thought safe enough to lodge the troops up and down in the villages. Cheirisophus accordingly remained where he was, and the other officers, appropriating by lot the several villages that they had in sight, went to their respective quarters with their men.

24. Here Polycrates, an Athenian captain, requested leave of absence, and, taking with him the most active of his men, and hastening to the village which Xenophon had been allotted, surprised all the villagers, and their head man, in their houses, together with seventeen colts that were bred as a tribute for the king, and the head man's daughter, who had been but nine days married; her husband was gone out to hunt hares, and was not found in any of the villages. 25. Their houses were under ground, the entrance like the mouth of a well, but spacious below; there were passages dug into them for the cattle, but the people descended by ladders. In the houses were goats, sheep, cows, and fowls, with their young; all the cattle were kept on fodder within the walls. 26. There was also wheat, barley, leguminous vegetables, and barley-wine, in large bowls; the grains of barley floated in it even with the brims of the vessels, and reeds also lay in it, some larger and some smaller, without joints; 27. and these, when any one was thirsty, he was to take in his mouth, and suck. The liquor was very strong, unless one mixed water with it, and a very pleasant drink to those accustomed to it.

28. Xenophon made the chief man of his village sup with him, and told him to be of good courage, assuring him that he should not be deprived of his children, and that they would not go away without filling his house with provisions in return for what they took, if he would but prove himself the author of some service to the army till they should reach another tribe.

29. This he promised, and, to show his good will, pointed out where some wine was buried. This night, therefore, the soldiers rested in their several quarters in the midst of great abundance, setting a guard over the chief, and keeping his children at the same time under their eye.

30. The following day Xenophon took the head man and went with him to Cheirisophus, and wherever he passed by a village, he turned aside to visit those who were quartered in it, and found them in all parts feasting and enjoying themselves; nor would they anywhere let them go till they had set refreshments before them;

31. and they placed everywhere upon the same table lamb, kid, pork, veal, and fowl, with plenty of bread both of wheat and barley. 32. Whenever any person, to pay a compliment, wished to drink to another, he took him to the large bowl, where he had to stoop down and drink, sucking like an ox. The chief they allowed to take whatever he pleased, but he accepted nothing from them; where he found any of his relatives, however, he took them with him.

33. When they came to Cheirisophus, they found his men also feasting in their quarters, crowned with wreaths made of hay, and Armenian boys, in their Barbarian dresses, waiting upon them, to whom they made signs what they were to do as if they had been deaf and dumb.

34. When Cheirisophus and Xenophon had saluted one another, they both asked the chief man, through the interpreter who spoke the Persian language, what country it was. He replied that it was Armenia. They then asked

him for whom the horses were bred ; and he said that they were a tribute for the king, and added that the neighbouring country was that of the Chalybes, and told them in what direction the road lay. 35. Xenophon then went away, conducting the chief back to his family, giving him the horse that he had taken, which was rather old, to fatten and offer in sacrifice, (for he had heard that it had been consecrated to the sun,) being afraid, indeed, that it might die, as it had been injured by the journey. He then took some of the young horses, and gave one of them to each of the other generals and captains. 36. The horses in this country were smaller than those of Persia, but far more spirited. The chief instructed the men to tie little bags round the feet of the horses, and other cattle, when they drove them through the snow, for without such bags they sunk up to their bellies.

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## CHAPTER VI.

The Greeks leave the villages under conduct of a guide, who, on being struck by Cheirisophus, deserts them. After wandering through the country for seven days, they arrive at the Phasis, and in two days more at some mountains occupied by the Phasiani, Taochi, and Chalybes, whom, by skilful manœuvring, they dislodge.

1. WHEN the eighth day was come, Xenophon committed the guide to Cheirisophus. He left the chief all the members of his family, except his son, a youth just coming to mature age ; him he gave in charge to Episthenes of Amphipolis, in

order that if the father should conduct them properly, he might return home with him. At the same time they carried to his house as many provisions as they could, and then broke up their camp, and resumed their march. 2. The chief conducted them through the snow, walking at liberty. When he came to the end of the third day's march, Cheirisophus was angry at him for not guiding them to some villages. He said that there were none in that part of the country. Cheirisophus then struck him, but did not confine him; 3. and in consequence he ran off in the night, leaving his son behind him. This affair, the ill-treatment and neglect of the guide, was the only cause of dissension between Cheirisophus and Xenophon during the march. Episthenes conceived an affection for the youth, and, taking him home, found him extremely attached to him.

4. After this occurrence they proceeded seven day's journey, five parasangs each day, till they came to the river Phasis, the breadth of which is a plethrum. 5. Hence they advanced two day's journey, ten parasangs; when, on the pass that led over the mountains into the plain, the Chalybes, Taochi, and Phasians were drawn up to oppose their progress. 6. Cheirisophus, seeing these enemies in possession of the height, came to a halt, at the distance of about thirty stadia, that he might not approach them while leading the army in a column. He accordingly ordered the other officers to bring up their companies, that the whole force might be formed in line.

7. When the rear-guard was come up, he called together the generals and captains, and spoke to them as follows: "The enemy, as you see, are in possession of the pass over the mountains; and it is proper for us to consider how we may encounter them to the best advantage.

8. It is my opinion, therefore, that we should direct the troops to get their dinner, and that we ourselves should hold a council, in the mean time, whether it is advisable to cross the mountain to-day or to-morrow."

9. "It seems best to me," exclaimed Cleanor, "to march at once, as soon as we have dined and resumed our arms, against the enemy; for if we waste the present day in inaction, the enemy who are now looking down upon us will grow bolder, and it is likely that, as their confidence is increased, others will join them in greater numbers."

10. After him Xenophon said, "I am of opinion, that if it is necessary to fight, we ought to make our arrangements so as to fight with the greatest advantage; but that, if we propose to pass the mountains as easily as possible, we ought to consider how we may incur the fewest wounds and lose the fewest men.

11. The range of hills, as far as we see, extend more than sixty stadia in length; but the people nowhere seem to be watching us except along the line of road; and it is therefore better, I think, to endeavor to try to seize unobserved some part of the unguarded range, and to get possession of it, if we can, beforehand, than to attack a strong post and men prepared to resist us.

12. For it is far less difficult to march up a steep ascent

without fighting than along a level road with enemies on each side; and, in the night, if men are not obliged to fight, they can see better what is before them than by day if engaged with enemies; while a rough road is easier to the feet to those who are marching without molestation than a smooth one to those who are pelted on the head with missiles. 13. Nor do I think it at all impracticable for us to steal away for ourselves, as we can march by night, so as not to be seen, and can keep at such a distance from the enemy as to allow no possibility of being heard. We seem likely, too, in my opinion, if we make a pretended attack on this point, to find the rest of the range still less guarded; for the enemy will so much the more probably stay where they are. 14. But why should I speak doubtfully about stealing? For I hear that you Lacedæmonians, O Cheirisophus, such of you at least as are of the better class, practise stealing from your boyhood, and it is not a disgrace, but an honour, to steal whatever the law does not forbid; 15. while, in order that you may steal with the utmost dexterity, and strive to escape discovery, it is appointed by law that, if you are caught stealing, you are scourged. It is now high time for you, therefore, to give proof of your education, and to take care that we may not receive many stripes." 16. "But I hear that you Athenians also," rejoined Cherrisophus, "are very clever at stealing the public money, though great danger threatens him that steals it; and that your best men steal it most, if indeed your best men are thought worthy to be

your magistrates ; so that it is time for you likewise to give proof of your education." 17. "I am then ready," exclaimed Xenophon, "to march with the rear guard, as soon as we have supped, to take possession of the hills. I have guides too ; for our light-armed men captured some of the marauders following us by lying in ambush ; and from them I learn that the mountains are not impassable, but are grazed over by goats and oxen, so that if we once gain possession of any part of the range, there will be tracks also for our baggage-cattle. 18. I expect also that the enemy will no longer keep their ground when they see us upon a level with them on the heights, for they will not now come down to be upon a level with us." 19. Cheirisophus then said, "But why should we go, and leave the charge of the rear? Rather send others, unless some volunteers present themselves." 20. Upon this Aristonymus of Methyria came forward with his heavy-armed men, and Aristneas of Chihos and Nicomachus of Cæta with their light-armed ; and they made an arrangement, that as soon as they should reach the top, they should light a number of fires. 21. Having settled these points, they went to dinner ; and after dinner Cheirisophus led forward the whole army ten stadia towards the enemy, that he might appear to be fully resolved to march against them on that quarter.

22. When they had taken their supper, and night came on, those appointed for the service went forward and got possession of the hills ; the other troops rested where they were. The enemy, when they saw the heights occupied,



kept watch and burned a number of fires all night. 23. As soon as it was day, Cheirisophus, after having offered sacrifice, marched forward along the road; while those who had gained the heights advanced by the ridge. 24. Most of the enemy, meanwhile, stayed at the pass, but a part went to meet the troops coming along the heights. But before the main bodies came together, those on the ridge closed with one another, and the Greeks had the advantage, and put the enemy to flight. 25. At the same time the Grecian peltasts ran up from the plain to attack the enemy drawn up to receive them, and Cheirisophus followed at a quick pace with the heavy-armed men. 26. The enemy at the pass, however, when they saw those above defeated, took to flight. Not many of them were killed, but a great number of shields were taken, which the Greeks, by hacking them with their swords, rendered useless. 27. As soon as they had gained the ascent, and had sacrificed and erected a trophy, they went down into the plain before them, and arrived at a number of villages stored with abundance of excellent provisions.

## CHAPTER VII.

The Greeks, entering the country of the Taochi, storm a fort, capturing a great number of cattle, on which they subsist while traversing the region of the Chalybes. They cross the Harpasus, and, marching through the territory of the Scythini, arrive at a town called Gymnias, whence they are conducted to Mount Theches, from the top of which they see the Euxine.

1. FROM hence they marched five days' journey, thirty parasangs, to the country of the Taochi, where provisions began to fail them; for the Taochi, inhabited strong fastnesses, in which they had laid up all their supplies. 2. Having at length, however, arrived at one place which had no city or houses attached to it, but in which men and women and a great number of cattle were assembled, Cheirisophus, as soon as he came before it, made it the object of an attack; and when the first division that assailed it began to be tired, another succeeded, and then another; for it was not possible for them to surround it in a body, as there was a river about it. 3. When Xenophon came up with his rear-guard, peltasts, and heavy-armed men, Cheirisophus exclaimed, "You come seasonably, for we must take this place, as there are no provisions for the army, unless we take it."

4. They then deliberated together, and Xenophon asking what hindered them from taking the place, Cheirisophus replied, "The only approach to it is the one which you see; but when any of our men attempt to pass along it, the enemy roll down stones over yonder impending

rock, and whoever is struck, is treated as you behold ;” and he pointed, at the same moment, to some of the men who had had their legs and ribs broken. 5. “But if they expend all their stones,” rejoined Xenophon, “is there anything else to prevent us from advancing? For we see, in front of us, only a few men, and but two or three of them armed. 6. The space, too, through which we have to pass under exposure to the stones, is, as you see, only about a hundred and fifty feet in length ; and of this about a hundred feet is covered with large pine trees in groups, against which if the men place themselves, what would they suffer either from the flying stones or the rolling ones? The remaining part of the space is not above fifty feet, over which, when the stones cease, we must pass at a running pace.” 7. “But,” said Cheirisophus, “the instant we offer to go to the part covered with trees, the stones fly in great numbers.” “That,” cried Xenophon, “would be the very thing we want, for thus they will exhaust their stones the sooner. Let us then advance, if we can, to the point whence we shall have but a short way to run, and from which we may, if we please, easily retreat.”

8. Cheirisophus and Xenophon, with Callimachus of Parrhasia, one of the captains, who had that day the lead of all the other captains of the rear-guard, then went forward, all the rest of the captains remaining out of danger. Next, about seventy of the men advanced under the trees, not in a body, but one by one, each sheltering himself as he could. 9. Agasias of Stympha-

lus, and Aristonymus of Methydría, who were also captains of the rear-guard, with some others, were at the same time standing behind, without the trees, for it was not safe for more than one company to stand under them. 10. Callimachus then adopted the following stratagem: he ran forward two or three paces from the tree under which he was sheltered, and when the stones began to be hurled, hastily drew back; and at each of his sallies more than ten cart-loads of stones were spent. 11. Agasias, observing what Callimachus was doing, and that the eyes of the whole army were upon him, and fearing that he himself might not be the first to enter the place, began to advance alone, (neither calling to Aristonymus who was next him, nor to Eurylochus of Lusía, both of whom were his intimate friends, nor to any other person,) and passed by all the rest. 12. Callimachus, seeing him rushing by, caught hold of the rim of his shield, and at that moment Aristonymus of Methydría ran past them both, and after him Eurylochus of Lusía, for all these sought distinction for valour, and were rivals to one another; and thus, in mutual emulation, they got possession of the place, for when they had once rushed in, not a stone was hurled from above. 13. But a dreadful spectacle was then to be seen; for the women, flinging their children over the precipice, threw themselves after them; and the men followed their example. Æneas of Stymphalus, a captain, seeing one of them, who had on a rich garment, running to throw himself over, caught hold of it with intent to stop him. 14. But the man dragged him forward, and

they both went rolling down the rocks together, and were killed. Thus very few prisoners were taken, but a great number of oxen, asses, and sheep.

15. Hence they advanced, seven days' journey, a distance of fifty parasangs, through the country of the Chalybes. These were the most warlike people of all that they passed through, and came to close combat with them. They had linen cuirasses, reaching down to the groin, and, instead of skirts, thick cords twisted. 16. They had also greaves and helmets, and at their girdles a short faulchion, as large as a Spartan crooked dagger, with which they cut the throats of all whom they could master, and then, cutting off their heads, carried them away with them. They sang and danced when the enemy were likely to see them. They carried also a spear of about fifteen cubits in length, having one spike. 17. They stayed in their villages till the Greeks had passed by, when they pursued and perpetually harassed them. They had their dwellings in strong places, in which they had also laid up their provisions, so that the Greeks could get nothing from that country, but lived upon the cattle which they taken from the Taochi.

18. The Greeks next arrived at the river Harpasus, the breadth of which was four plethra. Hence they proceeded through the territory of the Scythini, four days' journey, making twenty parasangs, over a level tract, until they came to some villages, in which they halted three days, and collected provisions. 19. From this place they advanced four days' journey,

twenty parasangs, to a large, rich, and populous city, called Gymnias, from which the governor of the country sent the Greeks a guide, to conduct them through a region at war with his own people. 20. The guide, when he came, said that he would take them in five days to a place whence they should see the sea; if not, he would consent to be put to death. When, as he proceeded, he entered the country of their enemies, he exhorted them to burn and lay waste the lands; whence it was evident that he had come for this very purpose, and not from any good will to the Greeks. 21. On the fifth day they came to the mountain; and the name of it was Theches. When the men who were in the front had mounted the height, and looked down upon the sea, a great shout proceeded from them; 22. and Xenophon and the rear-guard, on hearing it, thought that some new enemies were assailing the front, for in the rear, too, the people from the country that they had burnt were following them, and the rear-guard, by placing an ambuscade, had killed some, and taken others prisoners, and had captured about twenty shields made of raw ox-hides with the hair on. 23. But as the noise still increased, and drew nearer, and as those who came up from time to time kept running at full speed to join those who were continually shouting, the cries becoming louder as the men became more numerous, it appeared to Xenophon that it must be something of very great moment. 24. Mounting his horse, therefore, and taking with him Lycius and the cavalry, he hastened forward to give aid, when pres-

ently they heard the soldiers shouting, "The sea, the sea!" and cheering on one another. They then all began to run, the rear-guard as well as the rest, and the baggage-cattle and horses were put to their speed; 25. and when they had all arrived at the top, the men embraced one another, and their generals and captains, with tears in their eyes. Suddenly, whoever it was that suggested it, the soldiers brought stones, and raised a large mound, 26. on which they laid a number of raw ox-hides, staves, and shields taken from the enemy. The shields the guide himself hacked in pieces, and exhorted the rest to do the same. 27. Soon after, the Greeks sent away the guide, giving him presents from the common stock, a horse, a silver cup, a Persian robe, and ten darics; but he showed most desire for the rings on their fingers, and obtained many of them from the soldiers. Having then pointed out to them a village where they might take up their quarters, and the road by which they were to proceed to the Macrones, when the evening came on he departed, pursuing his way during the night.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

The Greeks proceed unmolested through the country of the Macrones, and enter Colchis. Putting to flight the Colchians who obstructed their passage, they arrive at Trebisond, a Greek city, where they perform whatever vows they had made, and celebrate games.

1. HENCE the Greeks advanced three days' journey, a distance of ten parasangs, through

the country of the Macrones. On the first day they came to a river which divides the territories of the Macrones from those of the Scythini. 2. On their right they had an eminence extremely difficult of access, and on their left another river, into which the boundary river, which they had to cross, empties itself. This stream was thickly edged with trees, not indeed large, but growing closely together. These the Greeks, as soon as they came to the spot, cut down, being in haste to get out of the country as soon as possible. 3. The Macrones, however, equipped with wicker shields, and spears, and hair tunics, were drawn up on the opposite side of the crossing place; they were animating one another, and throwing stones into the river. They did not hit our men, or cause them any inconvenience.

4. At this juncture one of the peltasts came up to Xenophon, saying that he had been a slave at Athens, and adding that he knew the language of these men. "I think, indeed," said he, "that this is my country, and, if there is nothing to prevent, I should wish to speak to the people." 5. "There is nothing to prevent," replied Xenophon; "so speak to them, and first ascertain what people they are." When he asked them, they said that they were the Macrones. "Inquire, then," said Xenophon, "why they are drawn up to oppose us, and wish to be our enemies." 6. They replied, "Because you come against our country." The generals then told him to acquaint them that we were not come with any wish to do them injury, but that we were return-



ing to Greece after having been engaged in war with the king, and that we were desirous to reach the sea. 7. They asked if the Greeks would give pledges to this effect; and the Greeks replied that they were willing both to give and receive them. The Macrones accordingly presented the Greeks with a Barbarian lance, and the Greeks gave them a Grecian one; for they said that such were their usual pledges. Both parties called the gods to witness.

8. After these mutual assurances, the Macrones immediately assisted them in cutting away the trees, and made a passage for them, as if to bring them over, mingling freely among the Greeks; they also gave such facilities as they could for buying provisions, and conducted them through their country for three days, until they brought them to the confines of the Colchians. 9. Here was a range of hills, high, but accessible, and upon them the Colchians were drawn up in array. The Greeks, at first, drew up against them in a line, with the intention of marching up the hill in this disposition; but afterwards the generals thought proper to assemble and deliberate how they might engage with the best effect. 10. Xenophon then said it appeared to him that they ought to relinquish the arrangement in line, and to dispose the troops in columns; "for a line," pursued he, "will be broken at once, as we shall find the hills in some parts impassable, though in others easy of access; and this disruption will immediately produce despondency in the men, when, after being ranged in a regular line, they find it dispersed.

11. Again, if we advance drawn up very many deep, the enemy will stretch beyond us on both sides, and will employ the parts that outreach us in any way they may think proper; and if we advance only a few deep, it would not be at all surprising if our line be broken through by showers of missiles and men falling upon us in large bodies. If this happen in any part, it will be ill for the whole extent of the line.

12. I think, then, that having formed our companies in columns, we should keep them so far apart from each other as that the last companies on each side may be beyond the enemy's wings. Thus our extreme companies will both outflank the line of the enemy, and, as we march in file, the bravest of our men will close with the enemy first, and wherever the ascent is easiest, there each division will direct its course. 13. Nor will it be easy for the enemy to penetrate into the intervening spaces, when there are companies on each side, nor will it be easy to break through a column as it advances; while, if any one of the companies be hard pressed, the neighbouring one will support it; and if but one of the companies can by any path attain the summit, the enemy will no longer stand their ground."

14. This plan was approved, and they threw the companies into columns. Xenophon, riding along from the right wing to the left, said, "Soldiers, the enemy whom you see before you, are now the only obstacle to hinder us from being where we have long been eager to be. These, if we can, we must eat up alive."

15. When the men were all in their places,

and they had formed the companies into columns, there were about eighty companies of heavy-armed men, and each company consisted of about eighty men. The peltasts and archers they divided into three bodies, each about six hundred men, one of which they placed beyond the left wing, another beyond the right, and the third in the centre. 16. The generals then desired the soldiers to make their vows to the gods; and having made them, and sung the pæan they moved forward. Cheirisophus and Xenophon, and the peltasts that they had with them, who were beyond the enemy's flanks, pushed on; 17. and the enemy, observing their motions, and hurrying forward to receive them, were drawn off, some to the right and others to the left, and left a great void in the centre of their line; 18. when the peltasts in the Arcadian division, whom Æschines the Acarnanian commanded, seeing them separate, ran forward in all haste, thinking that they were taking to flight; and these were the first that reached the summit. The Arcadian heavy-armed troop, of which Cleanor the Orcho-menian was captain, followed them. 19. But the enemy, when once the Greeks began to run, no longer stood their ground, but went off in flight, some one way and some another.

Having passed the summit, the Greeks encamped in a number of villages containing abundance of provisions. 20. As to other things here, there was nothing at which they were surprised; but the number of bee-hives was extraordinary, and all the soldiers that ate of the combs, lost their senses, vomited, and were affected with

puiging, and none of them were able to stand upright; such as had eaten only a little were like men greatly intoxicated, and such as had eaten much were like mad-men, and some like persons at the point of death. 21. They lay upon the ground, in consequence, in great numbers, as if there had been a defeat; and there was general dejection. The next day no one of them was found dead; and they recovered their senses about the same hour that they had lost them on the preceding day; and on the third and fourth days they got up as if after having taken physic.

22. From hence they proceeded two days' march, seven parasangs, and arrived at Trebisond, a Greek city, of large population, on the Euxine sea; a colony of Sinope, but lying in the territory of the Colchians. Here they stayed about thirty days, encamping in the villages of the Colchians, 23. whence they made excursions and plundered the country of Colchis. The people of Trebisond provided a market for the Greeks in the camp, and entertained them in the city; and made them presents of oxen, barley-meal, and wine. 24. They negotiated with them also on behalf of the neighbouring Colchians, those especially who dwelt in the plain, and from them too were brought presents of oxen.

25. Soon after, they prepared to perform the sacrifice which they had vowed. Oxen enough had been brought them to offer to Jupiter the Preserver, and to Hercules, for their safe conduct, and whatever they had vowed to the other gods. They also celebrated gymnastic games upon the hills where they were encamped, and chose Dra-

contius a Spartan, (who had become an exile from his country when quite a boy, for having involuntarily killed a child by striking him with a dagger,) to prepare the course and preside at the contests. 26. When the sacrifice was ended, they gave the hides to Dracontius, and desired him to conduct them to the place where he had made the course. Dracontius, pointing to the place where they were standing, said, "This hill is an excellent place for running, in whatever direction the men may wish." "But how will they be able," said they, "to wrestle on ground so rough and bushy?" "He that falls," said he, "will suffer the more." 27. Boys, most of them from among the prisoners, contended in the short course, and in the long course above sixty Cre-tans ran; while others were matched in wrestling, boxing, and the pancratium. It was a fine sight; for many entered the lists, and as their friends were spectators, there was great emulation. 28. Horses also ran; and they had to gallop down the steep, and, turning round in the sea, to come up again to the altar. In the descent, many rolled down; but in the ascent, against the exceedingly steep ground, the horses could scarcely get up at a walking pace. There was consequently great shouting, and laughter, and cheering from the people.

## BOOK V.

## CHAPTER I.

Cheirisophus goes to Anaxibius, the Spartan Admiral, to obtain ships for the Greeks. Xenophon, meanwhile, attends to other matters, and devises another plan for procuring vessels, if Cheirisophus should fail in his mission, and causing the roads to be repaired, in case the army should be obliged to proceed by land. Treachery of Dexippus, and efficient exertions of Polycrates.

1. WHAT the Greeks did in their march up the country with Cyrus, and what they underwent in their journey to the Euxine Sea; how they arrived at the Greek city of Trebisonde, and how they offered the sacrifices which they had vowed to offer for their safety as soon as they should reach a friendly country, has been related in the preceding part of this narrative.

2. They now assembled to hold a council concerning the remainder of their journey; and Antileon, a native of Thurii, stood up first, and spoke thus: "For my part, my friends, I am now quite exhausted with packing up my baggage, walking, running, carrying my arms, marching in order, mounting guard, and fighting, and should wish, since we have come to the sea, to rest from such toils, and to sail the remainder of the way; and to arrive at Greece, like Ulysses, stretched out asleep." 3. The soldiers, on hearing these remarks, cried out that he spoke well; and then another, and afterwards all the rest, expressed the same feelings. Cheirisophus then rose, and spoke as

follows: 4. "Anaxibius is a friend of mine, and is now admiral. If, therefore, you will commission me to go to him, I have no doubt that I shall return with galleys and transport-vessels to carry you. And as you wish to sail, stay here till I come back; for I shall come very soon." When the soldiers heard this offer, they were delighted, and voted that he should set sail with all speed.

5. After him Xenophon stood up, and spoke to the following effect: "Cheirisophus is going to fetch ships, and we shall remain here; and I will now mention what I think it proper for us to do during our stay. 6. In the first place, we must get provisions from the enemy's country; for the market here is not abundant enough to supply us, nor have we, except some few, a sufficiency of means with which to purchase. But the country around us is inhabited by enemies; and there is danger, therefore, that many of you may be killed, if you go out in quest of provisions heedlessly and unguardedly. 7. It seems to me, then, that we ought to seek provisions in foraging-parties, and not to wander about at random; so that you may preserve your lives; and that we, the officers, should have the regulation of these proceedings." These suggestions were approved. 8. "Attend also," he said, "to the following hints. Some of you will go out for plunder. I think it will be better, then, for any one that intends to go out, to give us notice, and say in what direction, that we may know the number of those who go and of those who stay at home, and may take part in their projects if it should be necessary; and that, if it should be requisite to send succour

to any party, we may know whither to send it; while if any of the less experienced make an attempt in any quarter, we may aid his views by trying to learn the strength of the enemy against whom he is going." To this proposal assent was likewise given. 9. "Consider this too," added he; "the enemy have leisure to rob us; they meditate attacks upon us, and with justice, for we are in possession of their property. They are also posted above us; and it appears to me, therefore, that sentinels should be placed round the camp, so that, if, being divided into parties, we keep guard and watch by turns, the enemy will be less in a condition to catch us by surprise. 10. Take this also into consideration. If we knew for certain that Cheirisophus would come with a sufficient number of ships to transport us, there would be no occasion for what I am going to say; but, since this is uncertain, I think that we ought, in the mean time, to endeavour to provide ourselves with ships from hence; for, if he comes with ships, and vessels are ready here, we shall sail in a greater number of ships; and, if he brings none, we shall make use of what we have procured here. 11. I observe vessels frequently sailing past; and if therefore we should ask the people of Trebisond for ships of war, and bring them in to the shore and keep them under guard, unshipping their rudders till a sufficient number be collected to carry us, we shall possibly not fail of securing such conveyance as we require." This suggestion was also approved. 12. "Reflect also," said he, "whether it will not be proper to support the mariners whom we bring into harbour from the common stock, as



long as they may stay on our account, and to make an agreement with them about the passage-money, that by benefiting us they may also be benefited themselves." To this they also agreed. 13. "It appears to me further," he continued, "that if our efforts are not successful to procure vessels in sufficient number, we should enjoin the towns lying on the sea to repair the roads, which, we hear, are scarcely passable; for they will obey such an injunction both from fear and from a wish to be rid of us." 14. At this point of his speech they cried out that there must be no travelling by land.

Xenophon, seeing their want of consideration, did not put that particular to the vote. But he afterwards prevailed on the towns to mend the roads of their own accord, telling them that if the roads were made passable, they would so much the sooner be delivered from the Greeks. 15. They received also a fifty-oared galley from the people of Trebisond, over which they placed Dexippus, a Spartan, one of the *periœci*; who, neglecting to get vessels together, went off with the galley clear out of the Euxine. He however met with a just retribution some time after; for being in Thrace, at the court of Seuthes, and engaging in some intrigue, he was killed by Nicander a Lacedæmonian. 16. They received too a thirty-oared galley, over which Polycrates an Athenian was appointed, who brought all the vessels that he could get to the shore before the camp; and the Greeks, taking out their cargoes, if they had any, set guards over them, that they might be secure, and reserved the vessels for their passage.

17. While these affairs were going on, the soldiers were making excursions for plunder; and some succeeded and others not; but Cleænetus, as he was leading out his own troop and another against some strong place, was killed, as well as several of those that were with him.

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## CHAPTER II.

To augment their stock of provisions, Xenophon undertakes a foraging expedition against the Drilæ, who lay waste their fields, and shut themselves up in their chief fort, which the Greeks take and burn to the ground.

1. WHEN it was no longer possible for the foragers to get provisions, so as to return the same day to the camp, Xenophon, taking some of the people of Trebisond as guides, led out half the army against the Drilæ, leaving the other half to guard the camp; for the Colchians, having been driven from their homes, were collected in large numbers, and had posted themselves on the heights. 2. The guides from Trebisond, however, did not conduct them to places whence it was easy to get provisions, for the inhabitants of those parts were their friends, but led them with great eagerness into the territories of the Drilæ, from whom they had received injuries, into mountainous and difficult tracts, and against the most warlike of all the people on the shores of the Pontus Euxinus.

3. When the Greeks had got up into their country, the Drilæ retreated, having first set fire to such of their places as seemed easy to be taken; and there was nothing for the Greeks to capture

but swine, or oxen, or any other cattle that had escaped the fire. But there was one place that constituted their metropolis; and to this they had all flocked. Around it there was an extremely deep ravine, and the ways of access to the place were difficult. 4. However the peltasts, having outstripped the heavy-armed men by five or six stadia, crossed the ravine, and getting sight of a great deal of cattle and other booty, made an attack upon the place; and many spear-men, who had gone out for plunder, followed close upon them; so that the number of those who crossed the ravine amounted to more than two thousand. 5. As they found themselves unable to take the place by assault, (for there was a broad trench round it, the earth from which had been thrown up as a rampart, and upon the rampart were palisades, and a number of wooden towers erected,) they attempted to retire, but the enemy pressed hard upon them; 6. and as they could not effect a retreat, (for the descent from the place to the ravine would allow only one to pass at a time,) they sent for aid to Xenophon, who was at the head of the heavy-armed men. 7. The messenger said, that the place was stored with abundance of things; "but," said he, "we are unable to take it, for it is strong; nor is it easy for us to retreat, for the enemy sally forth and assail our rear, and the way from it is difficult."

8. Xenophon, on hearing this account, brought up the heavy-armed to the ravine, and ordered them to halt there under arms, while he himself, crossing over with the captains, deliberated whether it would be better to bring off those that

had already gone over, or to lead over the heavy-armed also, in the hope that the place might be taken ; 9. for it seemed impossible to bring off the first party without the loss of many lives, and the captains were of opinion that they might take the place. Xenophon accordingly yielded to their judgment, placing some reliance, at the same time, on the sacrifices ; for the augurs had signified that there would be an action, and that the result of the excursion would be favorable. 10. He therefore despatched the captains to bring over the heavy-armed men, while he himself remained where he was, keeping back the peltasts, and allowing none of them to skirmish with the enemy. 11. When the heavy-armed troops came up, he ordered each of the captains to form his company in such a manner as he might think most advantageous for fighting ; for those captains, who were perpetually contending with one another in gallantry, were now standing close to each other. 12. They executed his orders ; and he then directed all the peltasts to advance holding their javelins by the thong, as it would be necessary to hurl whenever he should give the signal, and the archers having their arrows resting on the string, as, whenever he gave the signal, they would have to shoot ; he ordered the skirmishers also to have their bags full of stones, and commissioned proper persons to see these orders executed. 13. When everything was ready, and the captains and lieutenants, and all those who thought themselves not inferior to these, were in their places, and had a full view of each other, (for the disposition of the troops, from the nature of the ground, was in the

form of a crescent,) the heavy-armed men, 14. after they had sung the pæan and the trumpet had sounded, raised the war-cry to Mars, and ran forward, while the missiles, consisting of lances, arrows, balls from slings, and numbers of stones flung from the hand, were hurled among the enemy; and some of the men, too, threw fire-brands at the place. 15. By reason, therefore, of the multitude of these missives, the enemy abandoned both the palisades and the towers; so that Agasias of Stymphalus and Philoxenus of Pellene, laying aside their armour, mounted the ramparts in their tunics only; and then one drew up another, and others mounted by themselves, and the place, as it appeared, was taken. 16. The peltasts and light-armed men, accordingly, rushed in and laid hands on whatever they could find; while Xenophon, taking his stand at the gates, detained as many of the heavy-armed as he could outside of them, for other bodies of the enemy were showing themselves upon some strong positions among the hills. 17. After the lapse of a short interval of time, a cry arose within, and the men came fleeing out, some carrying what they had seized, and one or two perhaps wounded; and there was great crowding about the gates. Those who rushed out, being questioned as to the cause, said that there was a citadel within, and a great number of the enemy, who sallied forth and fell upon our men who were in the place. 18. Xenophon then told Tolmides the crier to proclaim that whoever wished to get any plunder might go in; when many hastened to the entrance, and those who tried to push their way in got the better of those that were hurry-

ing out, and shut up the enemy again in the citadel. 19. All the parts without the citadel were then ravaged, and the Greeks brought out the spoil; while the heavy-armed men ranged themselves under arms, some round the palisading, and some along the way leading to the citadel. 20. Xenophon and the captains then deliberated whether it would be possible to take the citadel, for, in that case, a safe retreat would be secured; otherwise it seemed a difficult matter to retire; and it appeared to them, upon consideration, that the citadel was altogether impregnable. 21. They accordingly began to prepare for a retreat; each of the men pulled up the palisades that were nearest to him; and the captains sent out of the place the useless hands, and those who were loaded with plunder, but retained those in whom they severally confided.

22. When they commenced their retreat, numbers of the enemy sallied forth upon them from within, armed with light shields, spears, greaves, and Paphlagonian helmets, while others climbed upon the houses that were on each side of the road leading to the citadel, 23. so that it was not safe to pursue them towards the gate leading thither, for they hurled down large pieces of timber from above; and it was in consequence dangerous either to remain or retreat; and the night, which was coming on, increased their alarm. 24. But while they were thus engaged and in perplexity, some god gave them the means of saving themselves; for one of the houses on the right suddenly burst out in flames, whoever it was that set fire to it, and when it fell in, the enemy fled from all the houses

on the right; 25. when Xenophon, having learned this expedient from fortune, gave orders to set fire to all the houses on the left, which were of wood, and soon in a blaze; and the enemy accordingly fled from these houses also. 26. Those who were directly over against them, however, and those only, still continued to annoy them, and gave evident signs of an intention to fall upon them in their egress and descent. Xenophon in consequence ordered all who were out of reach of the missiles to bring wood into the space between them and the enemy; and when a considerable quantity was collected, they set fire to it, setting fire at the same time to the houses close to the palisading, in order that the enemy's attention might be engaged about these proceedings. 27. Thus, by interposing fire between themselves and the enemy, they effected though with difficulty, a retreat from the place. The whole of the town, houses, towers, palisading, and everything else except the citadel, was reduced to ashes.

28. The next day the Greeks marched away, carrying with them the provisions that they had taken; but as they had some fears with regard to the descent to Trebisond, (for it was steep and narrow,) they placed a pretended ambuscade. 29. A certain man, a Mysian by birth, and bearing that name, took ten Cretans with him and waited in a woody place, making it appear that he was endeavouring to conceal himself from the enemy; while their shields, which were of brass, glittered from time to time through the bushes. 30. The enemy accordingly, observing these indications, were afraid as of a real ambuscade; and in the

mean time the army effected its descent. When it appeared to the Mysian that they were advanced far enough, he gave a signal for them to flee with all speed, and he himself, and those that were with him, started up and hurried off. 31. The others, the Cretans, quitting the road, (for they said that they were gained upon in the race,) threw themselves down among the wood into the bushy hollows, and got off safe; 32. but the Mysian himself, pursuing his flight along the road, was heard to call out for aid, when some ran to his relief, and brought him off wounded. The party who had rescued him then retreated step by step with their face towards the enemy, being exposed to their missiles, while some of the Cretans discharged their arrows in return. Thus they all returned in safety to the camp.

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### CHAPTER III.

Being unable, from want of provisions, to wait longer for Cheirisophus, the Greeks despatch the camp-followers and baggage by sea, and proceed themselves by land to Cerasus, where the whole army is reviewed. They divide among themselves the money arising from the sale of the prisoners, the generals taking charge of the tenth part, which had been vowed to Apollo and Diana. Description of Xenophon's residence, and of the temple of Diana, at Scillus.

1. As Cheirisophus did not return, and a sufficient number of vessels were not collected, and as there was no longer a possibility of getting supplies, it appeared that they must take their departure. They accordingly put on board the sick persons, and those who were about forty years of age,



with the women and children, and whatever baggage it was not necessary to retain, and appointed Philesius and Sophænetus, the eldest of the generals, to go in the vessels and take charge of them. The rest of the army proceeded by land; for the road was now prepared. 2. Pursuing their march, they arrived on the third day at Cerasus, a Greek city upon the coast in the country of Colchis, and a colony from Sinope. 3. Here they stayed ten days, and a review of the troops under arms was held, and their number taken; they were in all eight thousand six hundred. These were saved out of about ten thousand; the rest had been cut off by the enemy and the snow, and perhaps two or three by sickness.

4. Here also they distributed the money arising from the sale of the prisoners. The tenth part, which they set aside for Apollo and Diana of Ephesus, the generals took among them, each a portion, to keep for those duties. Neon of Asina received that which was intended for Cheirisophus.

5. Xenophon, after causing an offering to be made for Apollo, deposited it in the treasury of the Athenians at Delphi, inscribing on it his own name, and that of Proxenus, who was killed with Clearchus; for he had been his guest-friend. 6. The portion designed for Diana of Ephesus he left with Megabyzus, the warden of that goddess's temple, when he returned with Agesilaus out of Asia on an expedition to Bœotia, because he seemed likely to incur some peril, and enjoined him, if he escaped, to return the money to him, but, if he met an ill fate, to make such an offering as he thought would please the goddess, and dedicate it to her.

7. Afterwards, when Xenophon was banished from his country, and was living at Scillus, a colony settled by the Lacedæmonians near Olympia, Megabyzus came to Olympia to see the games, and restored him the deposit. Xenophon, on receiving it, purchased some land as an offering to the goddess where the god had directed him. The river Selinus happens to run through the midst of it; 8. and another river named Selinus runs close by the temple of Diana at Ephesus; and in both there are different kinds of fish, and shell-fish. On the land near Scillus, too, there is hunting, of all such beasts as are taken in the chase. 9. He built also an altar and a temple with the consecrated money, and continued afterwards to make a sacrifice every year, always receiving a tenth of the produce of the season from the land; and all the people of the town, as well as the men and women of the neighbourhood, took part in the festival; while the goddess supplied those in tents there with barley-meal, bread, wine, sweetmeats, and a share of the victims offered from the sacred pastures, and of those caught in hunting; 10. for the sons of Xenophon, and those of the other inhabitants, always made a general hunt against the festival, and such of the men as were willing hunted with them; and there were caught, partly on the sacred lands, and partly on Mount Pholoe, boars, and antelopes, and deer. 11. This piece of ground lies on the road from Lacedæmon to Olympia, about twenty stadia from the temple of Jupiter at Olympia. There are within the place groves and hills covered with trees, adapted for the breeding of swine, goats, oxen, and horses, so that the

beasts of the persons coming to the festival are amply supplied with food. 12. Round the temple itself is planted a grove of cultivated trees, bearing whatever fruits are eatable in the different seasons. The edifice is similar, as far as a small can be to a great one, to that at Ephesus; and the statue is as like to that at Ephesus as a statue of cypress can be to one of gold. 13. A pillar stands near the temple, bearing this inscription: THIS GROUND IS SACRED TO DIANA. HE THAT POSSESSES AND REAPS THE FRUIT OF IT IS TO OFFER EVERY YEAR THE TENTH OF ITS PRODUCE, AND TO KEEP THE TEMPLE IN REPAIR FROM THE RESIDUE. IF ANY ONE FAIL TO PERFORM THESE CONDITIONS, THE GODDESS WILL TAKE NOTICE OF HIS NEGLECT.

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#### CHAPTER IV.

The Greeks arrive at the country of the Mossynæci, who, relying on their strong-holds, endeavor to stop their progress. But as they were divided into two parties, the Greeks defeat the one with the aid of the other, burn two fortresses, and plunder the chief city. Account of the barbarous manners of the Mossynæci.

1. FROM Cerasus those who had previously gone on board pursued their voyage by sea; the rest proceeded by land. 2. When they came to the confines of the Mossynæci, they sent to them Timesitheus, a native of Trapezus, and a guest-friend of the Mossynæci, to inquire whether they were to march through their country as one of friends or of enemies. The Mossynæci replied that "they would allow them no passage at all;"

for they trusted to their strong-holds. 3. Timesitheus then acquainted the Greeks that the Mossynœci in the country beyond were at enmity with these ; and it was resolved accordingly to ask them whether they were willing to form an alliance with the Greeks. Timesitheus, being despatched for that purpose, returned with their chiefs.

4. On their arrival, the chiefs of the Mossynœci and the generals of the Greeks held a conference, when Xenophon spoke, and the Timesitheus interpreted. 5. "We are desirous," said he, "O Mossynœci, to effect a safe passage to Greece by land, as we have no ships ; but these people, who, as we hear, are your enemies, oppose our way. 6. It is in your power, therefore, if you think proper, to take us for your allies, and to avenge yourselves for whatever injury they have done you, and make them subject to you for the future. 7. But if you reject our application, consider whence you will again procure so efficient a power to support you." 8. To this the head chief of the Mossynœci answered that they were pleased with the proposal, and would consent to the alliance. 9. "Well then," said Xenophon, "for what purpose will you want to make use of us, if we become your allies, and how far will you be able to assist us with regard to our passage through the country?" 10. They replied, "We shall be able to make an irruption, from the farther side, into the country of those who are enemies to both you and us, and to send hither for you, both ships and men, who will be your auxiliaries, and guide you on your way." 11. Having given and received pledges on these terms, they departed.

The next day they returned with three hundred canoes, and three men in each, of whom two disembarked, and formed in line under arms, while the third remained on board. 12. The latter sailed off with the canoes, and those who were left behind, ranged themselves in the following manner. They drew up in lines, of about a hundred men in each, like rows of dancers fronting one another, all bearing shields made of the hides of white oxen, with the hair on, shaped like an ivy-leaf, and in their right hand a spear six cubits long, with a point at the upper end, and at the lower a round knob formed from the wood of the shaft. 13. They were clad in short tunics, that did not reach to their knees, of the thickness of a linen bag for bed-clothes, and had on their heads helmets made of leather like those of the Paphlagonians, with a plait of hair round the middle, nearly resembling a tiara; they had also battle-axes of iron. 14. One of them next went forward, and all the rest followed him, singing to a tune; and then, passing through the lines and heavy-armed troops of the Greeks, they proceeded straight towards the enemy, to attack a fortress, which appeared easy to be assailed, 15. and which was situated in front of the city which they call their metropolis, occupying the highest point in the country of the Mossynœci. It was about this strong-hold that the present war had arisen; for those who for the time being held this position, were regarded as chief of all the Mossynœci; and they said that the other party had seized it unjustly, and, by appropriating to themselves a common possession, had gained the ascendancy over them. 16. Some of the Greeks

followed these men, not by orders from their officers, but for the sake of plunder. While they were advancing, the enemy were quiet for a time, but, as they drew near the fort, they sallied out and put them to flight, killing several of the Barbarians, and some few of the Greeks that went up with them, and continued the pursuit until they saw the main body of the Greeks coming to the rescue. 17. They then turned and fled, and, cutting off the heads of the slain, exhibited them to the Greeks and their own enemies, dancing and singing, at the same time, to some kind of tune.

18. The Greeks were much vexed on this occasion, because they had rendered the enemy bolder, and because their own men, who had gone out with the party in considerable numbers, had run away; a circumstance which had never before happened during the expedition. 19. Xenophon however, calling the Greeks together, said, "Do not be cast down, soldiers, at what has happened, for be assured that the good which has occurred is not less than the evil. 20. In the first place, you are now convinced that those who are to guide us, are in reality enemies to those to whom it is necessary for us also to be enemies. In the next, those of the Greeks who were regardless of our discipline, and thought themselves able to do as much in conjunction with the Barbarians as with us, have paid the penalty of their rashness; so that on any other occasion they will be less inclined to desert our body. 21. And it is now incumbent on you so to prepare yourselves, that you may appear to such of the Barbarians as are your friends to be superior to them in courage, and to prove to your

enemies that they will not fight with the same kind of men now, as when they fought with those who were in disorder."

22. Thus they rested for that day. On the next, when they had sacrificed, and found favourable omens, and had taken their breakfast, they formed themselves in columns, ranging the Barbarians on the left in the same way, and marched forward with the archers between the columns, keeping a little within the front ranks of the heavy-armed troops, for some of the enemy's light-armed men ran down and hurled stones at them. 23.

These the archers and peltasts tried to keep in check; the rest of the Greeks proceeded at a slow pace, in the first place, towards the fortress, from which the Barbarians, and the Greeks who were with them, had been repulsed the day before; for here the enemy were drawn up to oppose them.

24. The Barbarians awaited the charge of the peltasts, and engaged with them; but when the heavy-armed came up, they took to flight, when the peltasts immediately pursued them up the hill to the metropolis, and the heavy-armed followed in order.

25. As soon as they had reached the top, and were close to the houses in the metropolis, the enemy, being now collected in a body, encountered and hurled lances at them; and, using other spears of great thickness and length, such as a man could hardly carry, they endeavoured to defend themselves with them hand to hand.

26. As the Greeks however did not give way, but engaged them in close combat, they fled also from this part, abandoning the place entirely. But their king, who resided in a wooden tower, built

upon an eminence, and whom, while he lives there, they all maintain and guard in common, would not consent to come out, nor would those who were in the fortress that was first taken, but were burnt there together with the towers. 27. The Greeks, in ransacking the place, found in the houses stores of bread, laid up, as the Mossynœci themselves said, according to their hereditary practice, and the new corn put by in the straw; the most of it was spelt. 28. Sliced flesh of dolphins, too, was found pickled in jars, and fat of dolphins also in other vessels, which the Mossynœci used as the Greeks use oil. 29. In the upper part of the houses were vast stores of chestnuts, of the broad kind, without any fissure; these they used in great quantities for food, boiling them and baking loaves of them. Wine was likewise found, which, when unmixed, seemed sour to the taste by reason of its roughness, but mixed with water, was both fragrant and sweet.

30. The Greeks, after dining here, proceeded on their march, delivering up the place to the tribe of Mossynœci that had become their allies. As for the other towns at which they arrived, belonging to the people on that side of the enemy, the Barbarians deserted such as were most accessible, while the inhabitants of others willingly came over to them. 31. Most of these places were situated thus: they were distant from one another about eighty stadia, some more, some less; yet the inhabitants could hear each other calling out from one town to another; so mountainous and hollow is the country.

32. When the Greeks, advancing onward, ar-



rived in the country of their friends, they showed them some boys, sons of the richest sort of people, extremely fat, (having been fed on boiled chestnuts,) very soft and fair-skinned, and not far from being equal in height and breadth, painted also on their backs with various colours, and tattooed all over their fore-parts with flowers. 33. They wanted to have intercourse in public with the mistresses that the Greeks had with them; for such is their custom. Both the men and women were very fair. 34. Those engaged in this expedition said that these were the most barbarous of all the people they passed through, and furthest removed from the manners of the Greeks; for they do those things in a crowd, which other men would do in private, or would not venture to do at all; and they acted, when alone, just as they would have acted in company with others; they talked to themselves, laughed to themselves, and stopped and danced wherever they happened to be, as if they were exhibiting themselves to others.

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## CHAPTER V.

The Greeks pass through the territories of the Chalybes, and arrive at Cotyora, a colony from Sinope, in those of the Tibareni. Not being hospitably received, they subsist by plundering the neighbouring country, and that of the Paphlagonians. The people of Sinope complain of these depredations, but are appeased by the reply of Xenophon.

1. THROUGH this country, partly hostile and partly friendly, the Greeks proceeded eight days' journey, and arrived among the Chalybes. This people are few in number, and subject to the

Mossynæci ; and the subsistence of most of them is procured by working in iron. 2. They next came to the Tibareni, whose country was much more level, and contained some towns on the sea-coast, not very strongly fortified. Upon these places the generals were inclined to make an attack, and thus in some degree to benefit the army ; and accordingly they did not receive the offerings of hospitality that was sent them from the Tibareni, but ordered those who brought them to wait till they had considered how to act, and then proceeded to sacrifice. 3. After offering several victims, all the augurs at last gave their opinion that the gods by no means approved of war. They then accepted the presents, and marching on, as through a country belonging to friends, they arrived in two days at Cotyora, a Greek city, a colony from Sinope, situated in the territory of the Tibareni.

4. Thus far the army had proceeded by land. The length of their journey down the country, from the field of battle near Babylon to Cotyora, was a hundred and twenty-two days' march, six hundred and twenty parasangs, or eighteen thousand six hundred stadia ; and the length of time spent in it was eight months.

5. Here they stayed forty-five days ; during which they first sacrificed to the gods, and then each of the Greeks, according to their tribes, celebrated processions and gymnastic games. 6. Their provisions, meanwhile, they took partly from Paphlagonia, and partly from the lands of the Cotyorites ; for they refused to permit them to purchase, or to receive their sick within the walls.

7. During this state of things ambassadors came from the people of Sinope, who were in fear about the city of Cotyora, (for it belonged to them, and the inhabitants paid them tribute,) and about the land, as they had heard that it was being ravaged. Having arrived at the camp, they said, (Hieronymus, who was thought a man of eloquence, speaking for the rest,) 8. "The people of Sinope, soldiers, have sent us hither, first of all, to offer you commendation, because, being Greeks, you have overcome the Barbarians, and next to congratulate you on having arrived here safe, as we hear, through many and great struggles. 9. But we think it right that, as we ourselves are Greeks, we should receive favour, and not injury, at the hands of you who are Greeks; for we have certainly never been aggressors in doing you any ill. 10. The people of Cotyora, are colonists of ours, and we gave them this land after having taken it from the Barbarians; on which account they pay us an appointed tribute, in the same manner as the people of Cerasus and Trebisonde; so that whatever evil you do to them, the city of Sinope will consider itself aggrieved by it. 11. We are now informed that, having entered the town by force, you are quartered, some of you, in the houses, and are taking whatever you want from the neighborhood without having obtained the people's consent. 12. These proceedings we cannot approve, and, if you continue to act thus, it will be necessary for us to make friends of Corylas and the Paphlagonians, and whomsoever else we may be able to attach to us."

13. In reply to these complaints Xenophon rose up and spoke in behalf of the army as follows: "We, O men of Sinope, have come hither, content with having preserved our persons and our arms; for to bring away spoil with us, and at the same time to fight with our enemies, was impossible; 14. and now, since we arrived among the Greek cities, (at Trebisond for example, for there they followed us to buy,) we have got our provisions by purchase; and in return for the honours which they did us, and the presents which they gave to the army, we paid them every respect, and abstained from injuring any of the Barbarians that were their friends, while to their enemies, against whom they lead us, we did as much harm as we could. 15. Inquire of them, (for the men, whom, through friendship, the city sent along with us as guides, are present here,) what sort of persons they found us. 16. But whithersoever we come and found no opportunity of purchasing, whether to a country of Barbarians or of Greeks, we take provisions for ourselves, not tyrannically, but from necessity. 17. Thus we made the Carduchi, the Taochi, and the Chaldæans, (not subjects of the king indeed, but very formidable people,) our enemies, by being under the necessity of taking provisions from them, as they gave us no opportunity to buy; 18. but the Macrones, since they afforded us every facility for purchasing that they could, we regarded, though Barbarians, as friends, and took nothing from them by force. 19. But as for the people of Cotyora, (who, you say, are your subjects,) for whatever we have taken from

them they themselves are to be blamed; for they did not make advances to us as friends, but, shutting their gates, would neither admit us within their walls, nor offer us provisions for sale without; and they alleged that the governor appointed by you was the cause of these proceedings. 20. With regard to your remark that we have entered the city and lodged ourselves in it by force, we requested them to receive our sick under their roofs; but, when they would not open their gates, we, effecting an entrance where the place itself would admit us, committed no further act of violence; and the sick now lodge in the houses, living upon their own means; while we place a guard at the gates, only that our disabled soldiers may not be in the hands of your governor, but that it may be in our power to remove them when we wish. 21. The rest of us, as you see, are encamped in order in the open air, prepared, if any one does us a service to do him a service in return; if an injury, to defend ourselves against him. 22. And as to your threat that, if you think proper, you will make Corylas and the Paphlagonians your allies against us, be assured that we, if it be necessary, will fight with you both, (for we have already fought with enemies much more numerous than you,) or, if we think fit, we will make the Paphlagonian leader our friend, 23. for we have heard that he covets both your city and all the other places on the sea. We shall try to become his friends by assisting him in the attainment of what he desires."

24. After this speech the colleagues of Heca-

tonymus testified manifest displeasure at what he had said, and another of them, coming forward, said that they were not come to make war, but to declare that they were friends. "And if you come," he continued, "to the city of Sinope, we will receive you there, with tokens of friendship, and, for the present, we will desire the people here to supply you with what they can, for we see that all that you state is true." 25. The people of Cotyora then sent presents to the army, and the generals of the Greeks entertained the ambassadors from Sinope; and they conversed with one another about many other things that concerned them, and inquired about such particulars as each party wanted to know respecting the remainder of the route.

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## CHAPTER VI.

The Greeks, by the advice of Hecatonymus, resolved to proceed by sea, if the people of Sinope will send them ships enough for their conveyance. A project of Xenophon's to build a city in Pontus is frustrated by the treachery of Silanus. Several of the Greeks are inclined to settle in Pontus.

1. SUCH was the end of that day. On the next, the generals assembled the soldiers, and it was resolved to call in the ambassadors from Sinope and consult them about the rest of their journey; for, if it should be necessary to proceed by land, the Sinopeans seemed likely to prove useful as guides, as they were well acquainted with Paphlagonia; or if by sea, it appeared that they would want the aid of the Sinopeans, for they were the only people that seemed able to furnish a

sufficient number of ships for transporting the army. 2. Having requested the attendance of the ambassadors, therefore, they asked their opinion, and desired that, being Greeks, they would in the first place receive them well, both by being kind to them as Greeks, and by advising them for the best.

3. Hecatonymus, rising up, first stated in apology for his observation "that they would make the Paphlagonian their friend," that he had said this, not to imply that they were going to make war upon the Greeks, but that they would prefer the friendship of the Greeks though they had the option of becoming friends to the Barbarians. When they called upon him to give them his advice, he spoke, with an appeal to the gods, to the following effect: 4. "If I advise you what seems to me to be best, may many good things befall me; if not, things of a contrary nature; for that sort of counsel, which is said to be *sacred*, appears now to be required; and, if I shall be thought to have advised you well, there will be many of you to applaud me, and if ill, many of you to execrate me. 5. I am aware, then, that we ourselves shall have much more trouble if you proceed by sea, for it will be necessary for us to furnish the vessels; while, if you go by land, it will fall upon you to fight your way. 6. However, I must tell you what I know; for I am well acquainted both with the country of the Paphlagonians and with their strength. As for the country, it presents many beautiful plains, and mountains of a very great height; 7. and I know, in the first place, the part where you must

certainly make your entrance into it, for it is impossible to enter it at any other point than where the peaks of a mountain rise to a vast height on each side of the road, which a handful of men in possession of them would be able to defend; and, if they are pre-occupied, not even all the men in the world would be able to force a passage. These I could show you, if you would send anybody with me. 8. Beyond, I know that there are plains, and a body of cavalry which the Barbarians themselves think superior to all the king's cavalry; and, on a recent occasion, they did not join him when he summoned them, as their leader has too high a spirit to do so. 9. But if you could even pass the mountains unobserved, or anticipate the enemy in taking possession of them, and could defeat their cavalry, as well as more than a hundred and twenty thousand infantry, in battle on the plain, you would in the next place come to rivers, first to the Thermodon, three hundred feet in breadth, which I consider difficult to pass, especially with a large number of enemies before you, and an equal number following you behind; next to the Iris, three hundred feet broad also; and, thirdly, to the Halys, not less than two furlongs in breadth, which you would be unable to cross without boats; and with boats who would supply you? The Parthenius, too, at which you would arrive if you were to pass the Halys, is equally impassable. 10. I consider this way, therefore, not merely as difficult, but as absolutely impracticable. But if you go by sea, you may sail along the coast from hence to Sinope, and from Sinope



to Heraclea ; and from Heraclea there will be no difficulty in proceeding either by land or sea, as there are plenty of vessels at Heraclea."

11. When he had given this advice, some suspected that he had given it through friendship for Corylas, as he was a public guest-friend of his ; others thought that he was to receive a reward for his counsel ; and others, again, imagined that he had thus advised them, in order that they might not, by marching through the territory of the Sinopeans, do any damage to it. The Greeks however gave their votes for going by sea.

12. Xenophon then said, " O men of Sinope, the soldiers have chosen the mode of travelling which you advise ; and the matter now stands thus ; if the vessels are to be furnished in sufficient numbers, so that not a man of us be left here, we will sail ; but if some of us are to be left here, and others to sail, we shall not go on board the vessels at all ; 13. for we are sure that wherever we are the stronger, we shall be able both to save ourselves and to get provisions, but that if we are anywhere found weaker than our enemies, it is quite clear we shall be in the condition of slaves." 14. The ambassadors, on hearing this statement, desired the Greeks to send an embassy to Sinope. They accordingly sent Callimachus an Arcadian, Ariston an Athenian, and Samolas an Achæan ; all of whom immediately set out.

15. In the meantime, when Xenophon contemplated the numerous body of heavy-armed Greeks, as well as the great number of peltasts, archers, slingers, and cavalry, rendered extremely

efficient by exercise, that were now in Pontus, where so large a force could not be collected without great expense, it appeared to him that it would be an honorable undertaking to acquire territory and power for Greece by founding a city there. 16. He thought that such a city might become great, when he considered both the number of the Greeks themselves, and that of the surrounding inhabitants of Pontus. With reference to this project he offered a sacrifice, summoning to it Silanus of Ambracia, who had been augur to Cyrus, before he spoke on the subject to any one of the soldiers. 17. Silanus, fearing that the scheme might take effect, and that the army might form a settlement somewhere, spread a report through the army that Xenophon wanted them all to remain there, and form a city, and thus give him fame and power. 18. But what Silanus himself wished, was to set off for Greece as soon as possible, as he had saved the three thousand darics that he had received from Cyrus, when, sacrificing for him, he gave a true prediction concerning the ten days. 19. As to the soldiers, when they heard of the matter, some thought it best to stay there, but the majority were of a different opinion; and Timasion the Dardanian, and Thorax the Bœotian told some merchants of Heraclea and Sinope who happened to be there, that if they did not procure pay for the troops, so that they might have provisions on the voyage, there would be danger of so great an army remaining in Pontus; for Xenophon, said they, is forming this project, and desires us, when the vessels have arrived,

suddenly to say to the army, 20. "Soldiers, we observe that we are now at a loss both how to get provisions for our voyage, and how to benefit our families on returning home. But if you are inclined to select some spot, wherever you please, in the inhabited country around the Euxine, and to take possession of it, allowing those to go home who are desirous to go, and those who are willing, to settle here, you have ships at command, so that you may make a sudden descent upon any part you may think proper." 21. The merchants, on hearing this account, communicated it to their cities; and Timasion the Dardanian sent with them Eury-machus, also a Dardanian, and Thorax the Bœotian, to make the same statement. The people of Sinope and Heraclea, as soon as they learned this, sent to Timasion, and engaged him, on receipt of a certain sum of money, to use his influence in bringing it to pass, that the army might sail out of the Euxine. 22. He willingly listened to this proposal, and made a speech, in an assembly of the soldiers, to the following purport: "We ought not to give our thoughts, soldiers, to remaining here; or to esteem any other country as preferable to Greece. I hear, however, that certain persons are sacrificing with a view to this object, without informing you of it. 23. But, if you will sail out of the Euxine, I engage to give each of you monthly a stater of Cyzicus as pay, computing from the first day of the month; and I will then conduct you to Troas, from whence I am an exile, and my city shall aid you, for my countrymen will gladly re-

ceive me. 24. I will also guide you to places from which you may get wealth, for I am well acquainted with Æolia, Phrygia, Troas, and all the satrapy of Pharnabazus, partly from being a native of that quarter, and partly from having served there with Clearchus and Dercylidas."

25. Thorax the Bœotian, who was always contending with Xenophon for the chief command, immediately stood up, and said, that if they sailed out of the Euxine, there would be before them the Chersonese, a fine and rich country; so that such as wished might settle there, and such as were unwilling to do so, might return home; adding that it was ridiculous, when there was abundance of rich land in Greece, to seek settlements in a country of Barbarians. 26. "And until you arrive there," said he, "I, as well as Timasion, engage that you shall have pay." This he said from having learned what the people of Heraclea and Sinope had promised on condition that they sailed away. Xenophon, in the meantime, was silent. 27. Philesius and Lycon, however, both Achæans, rose up and observed that it was intolerable that Xenophon should privately persuade the soldiers to remain, and sacrifice with a view to their stay, not allowing the army to participate in the sacrifice, and saying nothing on the subject to the general council. Xenophon was in consequence obliged to rise and speak as follows:

28. "I sacrifice, as you see, soldiers, to the best of my ability, both for you and for myself, in order that I may say, and think, and do such

things as may be most honourable and advantageous both for yourselves and me; and I was just now sacrificing about this very consideration, whether it would be better to proceed to speak and treat with you on this subject, or not to touch on the point at all. 29. Silanus the augur informed me, what was the most important particular, that the victims were favorable, but added (for he knew that I was not unskilled in such matters, from being constantly present at the sacrifices,) that some fraud and treachery was indicated against me by the sacrifices, as being conscious, forsooth, that he himself was treacherously purposing to calumniate me to you; for he it was that spread the report that I intended to carry this scheme into execution without gaining your consent. 30. If indeed I had seen you in want, I should have meditated some scheme, of which the result might have been that you, after possessing yourselves of some town, might sail home, such of you as were inclined, immediately, and such as were not so, after they had acquired sufficient to be of some benefit to their families. 31. But since I see the people of Heraclea and Sinope sending you vessels to sail in, and individuals here promising you pay from the beginning of the month, it appears to me an excellent thing for us, after getting safe where we wish to be, to receive pay for allowing ourselves to be preserved; and I myself, accordingly, give up this project, and think that all who have come to me saying that we ought to act in this manner, should give it up likewise. 32. For what I think is this; that

while you continue together, as at present, in large numbers, you are likely to be held in honour, and to find provisions, (since in superior strength lies the privilege of taking what belongs to the weaker;) but if you are divided, and your force broken into small bodies, you will neither be able to procure subsistence, nor effect a departure to your satisfaction. 33. My opinion, consequently, is the same with your own, that we ought to set out for Greece, and that if any one remain here, or be found leaving any one behind, before the whole army is in a place of safety, he be brought to trial as a criminal. And by whomsoever," he added, "these sentiments are approved, let him hold up his hand." They all held them up.

34. But Silanus cried out in opposition, and attempted to show that such as wished to leave the army ought to be allowed to do so. This proposition however the soldiers would not endure, but threatened that, if they caught him running away, they would inflict punishment on him. 35. Soon after, when the Heracleans learned that it was resolved to sail out of the Euxine, and that it was Xenophon who had put the matter to the vote, they sent the ships; but about the money for pay, which they had promised to Timasion and Thorax, they broke their word. 36. In consequence, those who had engaged for its payment were confounded, and in dread of the army. Taking with them therefore the rest of the generals, those at least to whom they had communicated what they were previously attempting, (and these were all ex-

cept Neon of Asina, who commanded under Cheirisophus, and Cheirisophus had not yet returned,) they went to Xenophon, and told him that they were sorry for what had been done, and that it seemed the best course to them, since they had vessels, to sail to the river Phasis, and take possession of the country of the Phasians, of whom a grandson of Æetes happened then to be king. 37. Xenophon replied that he would propose nothing of the sort to the troops, "but assemble them yourselves," said he, "and lay the matter before them if you please." Timasion the Dardanian then gave his opinion that they should not call a general assembly, but that each of the leaders should endeavour, in the first place, to persuade his own men. They accordingly went off and put this plan in execution.

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## CHAPTER VII.

Xenophon, being accused of encouraging the army to sail to the Phasis, defends himself in a formal speech, and is the means of bringing certain of the soldiers, who had some time before insulted the ambassadors from Cerasus, to punishment.

1. THE soldiers now learned that these matters were in agitation; and Neon of Asina told them that Xenophon, having brought the other generals over to his side, was resolved to deceive the army and take them back again to the Phasis. 2. The soldiers, on hearing this account, were greatly displeased, meetings began to be

held, and knots collected among them; and they gave great reason to fear that they would act as they had done to the heralds of the Colchians and the commissaries of the market; for as many of them as had not escaped to the sea had been stoned. 3. As soon as Xenophon observed this state of things, he thought proper to call the army immediately together, and not to leave them to collect of their own accord. He therefore ordered the herald to summon a general assembly, 4. and the troops, when they heard the herald's voice, hastened to the meeting with the greatest alacrity. Xenophon did not accuse the other generals of having come to him, but addressed the troops thus :

5. "I hear, soldiers, that some one accuses me of intending to deceive you, and to take you to the Phasis. Hear me therefore, in the name of the gods, and if I appear to have done wrong, I ought not to depart hence till I have suffered due punishment; but if, on the contrary, my accusers are proved to be in the wrong, treat them, I beseech you, as they deserve. 6. You doubtless know," he continued, "where the sun rises and where it sets, and that whoever intends to go to Greece must proceed towards the west, and whoever would go to the Barbarians, in the contrary direction towards the east; and is there any one, then, who would be able deceitfully to persuade you that the sun rises in this quarter and sets in that, sets here, and rises there? 7. You also know that the north wind carries you out of the Euxine Sea towards Greece, and the south wind inwards towards the Phasis; and



you exclaim, when the north wind blows, that it is fair sailing for Greece. Is it possible, then, that any one could deceive you with regard to this, to induce you to embark when the south wind is blowing? But you will say, perhaps, I shall put you on board when it is calm. 8. I however shall sail but in one ship, and you in a hundred at least; and how then could I force you to sail with me against your will, or lead you away by deceit? 9. But I will suppose that you are deceived and bewitched by me, and arrive at the Phasis; we then land in the country; you will know very well that you are not in Greece, and I, who have deceived you, shall be but one, while you who have been deceived, will be nearly ten thousand, with arms in your hands; and how could one individual more effectually bring vengeance on himself, than by planning thus concerning himself and you? 10. But these charges proceed from foolish men, and men who are jealous of me because I am honoured by you; though indeed they are jealous without reason; for which of them do I hinder from speaking before you, if he has anything to propose for your advantage, or from fighting, if he wishes, for you and himself, or from watching, if he cares to do so, for your safety? When you choose officers, do I stand in the way of any one? I am ready to resign; let another take the command; only let him show that he would do something for your advantage. 11. What I have said, however, upon this point, is sufficient. But if any one of you thinks that he could of himself have been deceived in this matter, or that any

other person could have deceived him in it, let him speak and make known his thoughts to us.

12. "When you are satisfied on this head, do not disperse until you have heard something of a sort of conduct, which I perceive, is beginning to show itself among the troops; for if it goes on, and becomes what it threatens to be, it is time for us to consider about ourselves, that we may not appear in the sight of gods and men, of enemies and friends, to be the basest and most infamous of all men, and bring ourselves utterly into contempt." 13. The soldiers, on hearing these words, wondered what the matter could be, and desired him to proceed. He accordingly resumed his speech: "You are aware that there were some places upon the mountains belonging to the Barbarians, and in alliance with the people of Cerasus, from which some of the inhabitants came down to us, and offered to sell us cattle for sacrifice, and such other things as they had. Some of you seem to have gone to the nearest of these places, and to have made some purchases and returned. 14. Clearchus, one of the captains, understanding that this place was small and unguarded, because the people supposed that they were in friendship with us, went against it in the night to plunder it, without telling any of us of his intention. 15. He had purposed, if he should take the place, not to return again to the army, but, embarking in a vessel, in which his comrades were sailing along the coast, and putting on board whatever he got, to sail clear away out of the Euxine. His companions in the vessel had concerted all this with him, as I now learn.

16. Assembling therefore as many as he could induce to follow him, he led them towards the place. But day-light overtook him on his way, and the inhabitants collecting together, and hurling missiles, and using other weapons, from their places of defence, killed Clearchus and several of the rest; some few of them retreated to Cerasus.

17. These occurrences happened on the day on which we set out hither from Cerasus by land, and while some of those who were to sail along the coast were still at Cerasus, not having as yet weighed anchor. After this, as the people of Cerasus state, three of the older men came from the place, desiring to have an interview with our common assembly.

18. As they did not find us, they told the people of Cerasus that they wondered why we had thought of attacking them. The people of Cerasus, however, said that when they told them that the outrage had not been committed by public authority, they were delighted, and were going to sail hither to give us an account of what had happened, and to invite those who wished it to take their dead and bury them.

19. But some of the Greeks that had fled happened to be still at Cerasus, and discovering whither the Barbarians were going, had the daring to throw stones at them themselves, and encouraged others to do the same. Thus these men, the three deputies, were stoned to death.

20. "When this crime was committed, some of the people of Cerasus came to us, and gave us an account of the affair. We, the generals, on listening to it, were greatly concerned at what had happened, and consulted with the men from Cer-

asus how the dead Greeks might be buried. 21. As we were sitting in council, outside the quarters of the heavy-armed men, we suddenly heard a great outcry of voices, 'Strike, strike, throw, throw!' and immediately saw a great number of men running together with stones in their hands, and others picking them up. 22. The people of Cerasus, as having witnessed what had happened among themselves, retreated in fear to their vessels; and there were some of us, by Jove, who were also in fear. 23. I, for my part, went up to them, and asked them what the matter was. Some of them knew nothing about it; and yet had stones in their hands. When at length I met with one who did know, he told me that the commissaries of the market were treating the army in a manner not to be endured. 24. At this moment one of the soldiers perceived the commissary Zelarchus retreating towards the sea, and called out; the rest, hearing the cry, rushed towards him as if a wild boar or a stag had appeared. 25. The men of Cerasus, seeing the soldiers hurrying in their direction, and thinking that they were coming to attack them, fled in all haste, and threw themselves into the sea; when some of our men threw themselves in likewise, and such as did not know how to swim were drowned. 26. Why do you think that these men fled? They had done no wrong; but they were afraid that some madness, like that of dogs, must have seized our men. If things are to go on thus, consider what will be the state of our army. 27. You, as a body, will not have the privilege either of commencing war with whom you please, or of break-

ing it off, but every man that chooses may lead off troops of his own will, on whatever enterprise he thinks proper. And if any deputies come to you, to ask for peace or anything else, whoever pleases may, by putting them to death, prevent you from hearing the requests of those who apply to you. 28. Besides, those whom you have all elected generals, will then be of no authority, but whoever may elect himself general, and be inclined to cry, 'Throw, throw,' will be able to put to death either officer or private among you, whomsoever he pleases, without a trial, at least if men be found, as in this recent instance, to obey him.

. 29. "Consider, too, what these self-elected leaders have done for you. If Zelarchus the commissary has done you any wrong, he has sailed off without making any atonement to you; if he has done you none, he has fled from the camp for fear of being put to death unjustly and without trial. 30. Those who stoned the deputies have made it unsafe for you alone, of all the Greeks, to go to Cerasus, unless with a powerful force; and with regard to the dead, whom, previously, those that killed them invited you to bury, they have rendered it no longer safe for you to carry them off, even though attended with a herald's staff. Who, indeed, that has killed heralds, will be willing to go as a herald? However, we have requested the people of Cerasus to bury them.

31. "If these proceedings be right, let them be sanctioned by you, in order that, as such conduct is to be pursued, every man may procure a

guard for himself, and endeavour to pitch his tent in a strong and advantageous position. 32. But if such acts appear to you rather those of wild beasts than of men, contrive some mode of putting a stop to them; or, if you do not, how, in the name of Jupiter, shall we sacrifice to the gods with any satisfaction, while we are guilty of impious deeds? Or how shall we fight with our enemies, if we kill one another? 33. Or what city will receive us with friendship, that sees such lawlessness among us? Or who, with any confidence, will offer us provisions for sale, if we are found to offend in things of such moment? Or, in the country where we expected to obtain the praise of all, who will praise us if we bear such a character? For I am very certain that we should pronounce others, who should be guilty of such acts, to be bad men."

34. In consequence they all stood up and said that the leaders in these proceedings should suffer punishment; that for the future it should be forbidden to enter upon any lawlessness of the kind, and that whoever attempted any, should be put to death; that the generals should bring all such persons to trial; and that there should be trials also in case any person had been wronged in any way since Cyrus was killed. The captains they appointed to be judges. On the motion of Xenophon, too, and with the concurrence of the augurs, it was resolved to purify the army. The purification accordingly took place.

## CHAPTER VIII.

A resolution is passed that the generals shall give an account of their conduct. Xenophon is accused by some of the soldiers of having inflicted stripes upon them. Xenophon acknowledges the facts, but amply justifies his conduct.

1. It was resolved also that the generals should give an account of their conduct during the time past; and when they gave it, Philesius and Xanthicles were condemned, for their negligent custody of the cargoes of the merchant ships, to pay the sum that was deficient, namely, each twenty minæ; and Sophænetus was fined ten minæ, because, being chosen a general, he had neglected his duty.

Some also brought accusations against Xenophon, alleging that they had been beaten by him; and made their charges on the ground that his conduct had been tyrannical. 2. Xenophon, standing up, called upon him who had spoken first to say where he had been beaten. He replied, "Where we were perishing with the cold, and where the greatest fall of snow was."

3. Xenophon rejoined, "If, during such severe weather as you mention, when provisions were failing us, when we had not wine even to smell to, when many of us were exhausted with fatigue, and the enemy were close behind us, if, I say, I acted tyrannically at such a time, I acknowledge that I must have been more spiteful even than asses, in which they say that from spite fatigue is not produced. 4. Tell us, however, for what cause you were beaten. Did I

ask you for anything, and beat you when you would not give it to me? Or did I demand anything back from you, or was I fighting about any object of affection, or did I abuse you in a fit of intoxication?" 5. As he said that there was nothing of this kind, Xenophon asked him whether he was one of the heavy-armed men? He answered, "No." Whether he was one of the peltasts? He said that he was not, but was a free-man, set to drive a mule by his comrades. 6. Xenophon now recognized him, and asked him, "Are you the man that was carrying the sick person?" "I certainly am," replied he, "for you compelled me to do so, and scattered about the baggage of my comrades." 7. "The scattering," rejoined Xenophon, "was something in this way; I distributed it to others to carry, and directed them to bring it to me again; and, on receiving it, I restored it all safe to you, after you had produced the man that I gave you in charge. But hear," he continued, "how the affair happened; for it is worth your while. 8. A man was left behind because he was no longer able to continue his march; I knew nothing of the man but that he was one of us; and I obliged you to carry him, that he might not perish; for, as I believe, the enemy were in pursuit of us." This the man acknowledged. 9. "Then," said Xenophon, "after I had ordered you to go before, I soon overtook you, and found you, as I came up with the rear-guard, digging a pit for the purpose of burying the man; when I stopped and commended you. 10. But as the man, while we stood by, drew in his leg, all who



were present cried out that he was alive; and you said, 'He may be as much alive as he likes, for I shall not carry him.' Upon this I struck you; you say but the truth; for you seemed to me to have been aware that the man *was* alive."

11. "What then," exclaimed the accuser, "did he the less die, after I had shown him to you?"

"We shall all die," rejoined Xenophon, "but must we for that reason be buried alive?" 12.

At this all the assembly cried out that Xenophon had not beaten him enough.

He then called upon the rest to state on what account each of them had been struck. 13. But as none of them stood forward, he said, "I acknowledge, fellow-soldiers, that I have beaten men for leaving their ranks; such men as were content to be saved by our exertions, and, while we marched in order and fought where it was necessary, tried, by quitting their places, and hurrying on before us, to get plunder, and gain in that respect an advantage over us. Had we all acted in this way, we should all have perished.

14. I also struck some, and forced them to march, who were giving way to inaction, unwilling to rise, and abandoning themselves to the enemy; for I myself, when I was once waiting, during the excessive cold, for some of the men to pack up their baggage, and had sat for a considerable time, found that I could hardly get up and stretch my legs. 15. Having therefore had experience in my own person, whenever afterwards I saw any other sitting down and indulging in sloth, I drove him on; for motion and manful exertion created a certain warmth and suppleness, but sit-

ting and inaction, I observed, contributed to the congealing of the blood, and the mortification of the toes, which you know that many have suffered. 16. Others, perhaps, who had loitered behind from indolence, and who hindered both you who were in front, and us who were in the rear, from advancing, I may have struck with my fist, that they might not be struck with the spear of the enemy. 17. Those, therefore, who have thus been preserved, may now, if they have suffered anything from me contrary to justice, obtain redress; but if they had fallen into the hands of the enemy, what injury could they have suffered of such magnitude, as that they would ever have claimed to get satisfaction for it! 18. My case," he proceeded, "is plain; for if I have punished any one for his good, I am willing to make such atonement as parents make to their children and masters to their scholars. Surgeons, too, cut and cauterize for the good of their patients. 19. But if you imagine that I acted thus from a love of tyranny, consider that I have now, through the favour of the gods, more spirit than I had then, and am bolder now than I then was, and drink a greater quantity of wine, and yet strike no one; for I see you now in a calm; 20. but when a storm rises, and a great sea sets in, do you not observe that the commander in the prow, even for a mere nod, is angry with those in the fore-part of the vessel, and the steersman angry with those in the stern, because, in such circumstances, even small mistakes are sufficient to ruin everything? 21. Even you yourselves, however, have pronounced that I

struck these men, on those occasions, with justice, for you stood by with swords, not voting-pebbles, in your hands, and might have taken their part if you had thought proper. But, by Jupiter, you neither took their part, nor joined with me in punishing the disorderly; 22. and you have in consequence, by letting them alone, given encouragement to the bad among them to grow audacious; for you will find, I think, if you will but examine, that those who were then the worst, are now the most audacious characters. 23. Boiscus, for instance, the Thessalian boxer, strove earnestly, on pretence of sickness, not to carry his shield; and now, as I hear, he has robbed many of the people of Cotyora. 24. If therefore you are wise, you will treat this man in a way, the reverse of that in which they treat dogs; for dogs, when they are spiteful, men tie up in the day, and let loose in the night; but him, if you exercise your judgment, you will tie up in the night, and let loose only by day. 25. But I wonder," he added, "why, if I gave offence to any of you, you bear it in mind, and do not fail to speak of it, while, if I relieved any of you during the cold, or kept off any enemy from you, or supplied any of you, in any way, when sick and in want, no one makes mention of these services; nor, if I have commended any one for good conduct in any case, or have honoured any man, as far as I could, for valiant exertion, does any of you remember these occurrences. 26. Yet is it more honourable, and just, and upright, and pleasing, to treasure in the memory good acts than bad."

They accordingly rose up, and called to mind his services ; and the result was that things were settled satisfactorily.

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## BOOK VI.

### CHAPTER I.

The Greeks receive an embassy from the satrap of Paphlagonia, with whom they make peace. They sail from Cotyora to Sinope, where they determine to elect a commander-in-chief, and fix upon Xenophon, who declines the office ; and they then choose Cheirisophus, who had just returned with vessels from Anaxibius.

1. FROM this time the Greeks, during their stay here, subsisted partly by purchasing provisions, and partly by plundering the country of Paphlagonia ; while the Paphlagonians, on their part, secretly intercepted, and with great adroitness, the straggling soldiers, and made attempts, during the night, to annoy those who were encamped at the out-posts. In consequence of these proceedings they conceived the most hostile feelings toward each other. 2. Corylas, however, who was then governor of Paphlagonia, sent deputies to the Greeks with horses and beautiful robes, to say that "Corylas was desirous neither to injure the Greeks nor to receive injury from them." 3. The generals replied, that "they would consider of the matter with the army ;" but received them, at the same

time, with hospitality, and invited such of the officers as they thought most eligible to meet them; 4. when, having killed some of the oxen that they had captured, and other cattle, they set before them a plentiful entertainment, of which they partook reclining on mats made of grass, and drank out of horn cups which they had found in the country.

5. As soon as the libations were over, and they had sung the pæan, two Thracians rose up, and danced in full armour, to the sound of a pipe; they leaped very high, and with great agility, and wielded their swords; and at last one struck the other, in such a manner that every one thought he had killed him, 6. (he fell, however, artfully,) and the Paphlagonians cried out; the other, having despoiled him of his arms, went out singing the Sitalces; while other Thracians carried off the man as if he had been dead; though indeed he had suffered no hurt. 7. Afterwards some Ænians and Magnesians stood up, and danced what they call the Carpæan dance, in heavy arms. 8. The nature of the dance was as follows. One man, having laid aside his arms, sows, and drives a yoke of oxen, frequently turning to look back as if he were afraid. A robber then approaches, and the other man, when he perceives him, snatches up his arms and runs to meet him, and fights with him in defence of his yoke of oxen; (and the men acted all this keeping time to the pipe;) but at last the robber, binding the other man, leads him off with his oxen. Sometimes, however, the ploughman binds the robber, and then, having fastened him

to his oxen, drives him off with his hands tied behind him.

9. Next came forward a Mysian, with a light shield in each hand, and danced, sometimes acting as if two adversaries were attacking him; sometimes he used his shields as if engaged with only one; sometimes he whirled about, and threw a summerset, still keeping the shields in his hands, presenting an interesting spectacle.

10. At last he danced the Persian dance, clashing his shields together, sinking on his knees, and rising again; and all this he performed in time to the pipe.

11. After him some Mantineans, and others of the Arcadians, coming forward and taking their stand, armed as handsomely as they could equip themselves, moved along in time, accompanied by a pipe tuned for the war-movement, and sung the pæan, and danced in the same manner as in the processions to the gods. The Paphlagonians, looking on, testified their astonishment that all the dances were performed in armour. 12. The Mysian, observing that they were surprised at the exhibition, and prevailing on one of the Arcadians, who had a female dancer, to let her come in, brought her forward, equipping her as handsomely as he could, and giving her a light buckler. She danced the Pyrrhic dance with great agility, and a general clapping followed; 13. and the Paphlagonians asked whether the women fought along with the men; when they replied that it was the women who had driven the king from his camp. This was the conclusion of the entertainments for that night.

14. Next day the generals brought the deputies before the army; and it was resolved by the soldiers that "they would neither injure the Paphlagonians nor suffer any injury from them." The deputies then took their departure; and the Greeks, as a sufficient number of ships seemed to be ready, went on board, and sailed all that day and the following night, with a fair wind, keeping Paphlagonia on the left; 15. and the day after, they arrived at Sinope, and cast anchor in Harmene, the harbour of that city. The Sinopeans are situate in the Paphlagonian territory, but are colonists of the Milesians. They sent the Greeks, as a mark of hospitality, three thousand medimni of flour, and fifteen hundred ceramia of wine. 16. Here Cheirisophus now arrived with some galleys: the soldiers expected that he was bringing them something; but he brought them nothing. He announced however that Anaxibius the admiral, and the rest of the Lacedæmonians, gave them great praise; and that Anaxibius engaged, if they would come away from the Euxine, that they should have pay.

17. The troops stayed five days at Harmene; and as they considered that they were now near Greece, it became an object with them, even more than before, to return home with some booty in their possession. 18. And they thought that, if they made choice of one general, that single person would be better able to manage the army, whether by night or day, than it was managed under the existing government of several; so that if it should be necessary for

them, in any case, to conceal their designs, they would be concealed more effectually, and if to anticipate the movements of the enemy, they would be less likely to be behind-hand; as there would then be no need of conferences, but whatever was determined by the one commander would be put in execution; whereas the generals had hitherto done everything by the vote of the majority. 19. While they were contemplating this scheme, they turned their thoughts to Xenophon; and the captains came to him and said that the army was of this opinion, and each, expressing his good-will towards him, endeavoured to induce him to undertake the command. 20. Xenophon was in some degree inclined to listen to the proposal, when he reflected that, by this means, greater honour would fall to him, that his name would reach his friends and his country with greater glory, and that possibly he might also be the cause of some advantage to the army. 21. Such considerations influenced him to desire to become commander-in-chief. But when, on the other hand, he remembered how uncertain it is to all men what the future will produce, and that, consequently, he would be in danger of losing the reputation which he had already acquired, he felt uncertain how to act.

22. While he was perplexed as to his decision, it appeared to him that the best thing that he could do was to lay the matter before the gods; and having placed by the altar two victims, he sacrificed to Jupiter the King, who had been pointed out to him as the god that he should consult, by the oracle at Delphi; and he thought



that he had received from that god the dream which he saw, when he was first appointed to take charge of the army. 23. He called to mind also, that when he was going from Ephesus to join Cyrus, an eagle cried on his right, in a sitting posture however, which, as the augur, who accompanied him, said, was an omen portending something great, above the fortunes of a private individual; foretelling what was honourable, but toilsome, since other birds attack the eagle chiefly when sitting; and he added that the omen was not at all indicative of gain, as the eagle mostly secured prey when flying. 24. While he was sacrificing on the present occasion, the god clearly directed him not to seek any additional command, and not to accept it if they should elect him; and this was the issue of the matter. 25. The army however came together, and all suggested that one commander should be chosen; and, as it was resolved to do so, they proposed Xenophon. As it seemed evident too that they would elect him, if any one should put it to the vote, he rose up and spoke as follows: 26. "My fellow-soldiers, I am delighted, as I have the feelings of a man, at receiving honour from you, and am grateful for it, and pray that the gods may grant me to be the author of some advantage to you; but that I should be preferred to be your leader, when a Lacedæmonian is present, appears likely to be of no advantage either to you or me; on the contrary, it seems probable that if you should require assistance from them, you would on this very account be less likely to obtain it. I moreover think such

dignity by no means safe for me; 27. for I see that the Lacedæmonians never ceased making war on my country until they made the whole people acknowledge that the Lacedæmonians were masters of them as well as of others; 28. though, when they made this confession, they at once desisted from hostilities, and no longer besieged the city. If therefore, seeing this state of things, I should seem, where I have the power, to render their supremacy uninfluential, I am apprehensive lest I should very soon be reminded of my duty. 29. As to your opinion, that there will be less faction among you under one commander than under many, be assured that, if you choose another, you will not find me factious; for I consider that he who in war quarrels with his commander, quarrels with his own safety, whereás, if you should elect me, I should not wonder if you should find people show resentment against both you and myself."

30. After he had thus spoken, far more persons than before rose up, and said that he ought to take upon him the command. Agasias of Stymphalus said that it would be ridiculous if things should be in such a state, since the Lacedæmonians might then be enraged even if a party met to sup together did not choose a Lacedæmonian as president of their banquet. "If such be the case," added he, "it is not proper even for us, it would seem, to be captains, because we are Arcadians." Upon this the assembly showed by a murmur their opinion that Agasias had spoken well.

31. Xenophon, seeing that there was need of

something additional on his part, came forward and said, "But, my fellow-soldiers, that you may be fully informed on this subject, I swear to you by all the gods and goddesses, that after I learned your inclination, I sought to ascertain by sacrifice whether it would be better for you to confer this command upon me, and for me to undertake it, or not; and they gave me such manifest signs, by the victims, that even an untaught person would have understood that I ought to decline the command." 32. They in consequence chose Cheirisophus, who, when he was elected, stood forward and said, "Be assured of this, my fellow-soldiers, that I should have made no factious opposition, if you had chosen another. However," added he, "you have done a service to Xenophon by not electing him, as Dexippus has recently been accusing him to Anaxibius, as far as he could, although I tried as much as possible to silence him. Dexippus also said that he thought Xenophon would rather be joined in command with Timasion, a Dardanian, over the army of Clearchus, than with himself, a Lacedæmonian. 33. But," he continued, "since you have chosen me, I will endeavour, on my part, to do you all the service that I can. Prepare yourselves; accordingly, to sail to-morrow, if it be weather for sailing. Our course will be for Heraclea, and it is incumbent on you all to do your utmost to reach it. Of other matters we will consider when we have arrived there."

## CHAPTER II.

The Greeks sail to Heraclea, where disagreements arise among them, and they separate into three parties ; one, the most numerous, formed of Arcadians and Achæans, who create for themselves ten captains ; a second attached to Cheirisophus ; and a third to Xenophon.

1. WEIGHING anchor from hence the next day, they sailed with a fair wind along the coast for two days. In their course they saw the Beach of Jason, where the Argo is said to have been moored ; and the mouths of certain rivers, first that of the Thermodon, then that of the Iris, next that of the Halys, and finally that of the Parthenius. After sailing by the last, they arrived at Heraclea, a Greek city, a colony of Megara, situate in the territory of the Maryandyni. 2. They came to anchor near the Acherusian Peninsula, where Hercules is said to have gone down to bring up the dog Cerberus, and where they now show marks of his descent to the depth of more than two stadia. 3. The people of Heraclea sent the Greeks, as tokens of hospitality, three thousand medimni of barley-meal, and two thousand ceramia of wine, with twenty oxen and a hundred sheep. Here a river named Lycus runs through the plain, in breadth about two hundred feet.

4. The soldiers, assembling together, began to deliberate, with regard to the rest of the way, whether it were proper to proceed by land or sea, until they were beyond the Euxine. Lycon, an Achæan, rising up, said, "I wonder at the generals, my fellow-soldiers, for not endeavouring

to procure us money to buy provisions; for the presents received will not furnish subsistence to the army for three days; nor is there any place from whence we can get provisions as we proceed on our journey. It appears to me, therefore, that we ought to ask of the people of Heraclea not less than three thousand Cyzicene staters."

5. Another exclaimed, "Not less than ten thousand," and proposed that, having chosen deputies, we should send them at once to the city, while we were sitting there, and hear what report they brought, and take measures accordingly.

6. They then proposed, as deputies, first Cheirisophus, because he was general-in-chief, and others then named Xenophon; but both resolutely refused; for they concurred in opinion that they ought not to compel a Greek city, and one in friendship with them, to supply them with anything that the inhabitants did not offer of their own accord.

7. As they showed themselves resolved, therefore, not to go, the army sent Lycon the Achæan, Callimachus a Parrhasian, and Agasias of Stymphalus; who, going to the town, informed the people of the resolutions just passed. It was said, too, that Lycon even threatened them with violence, if they did not comply with these demands.

8. The Heracleans listened to them, and said that they would consider of the matter, and then immediately collected their property out of the fields, and conveyed the provisions exposed for sale into the city. At the same time the gates were shut, and armed men appeared upon the walls.

9. In consequence, the authors of these dis-

sensions accused the generals of having defeated their plan; and the Arcadians and Achæans began to hold meetings together, Callimachus the Parrhasian and Lycon the Achæan being mostly at their head. 10. The remarks among them were, that it was disgraceful that one Athenian, who had brought no force to the army, should have the command of Peloponnesians and Lacedæmonians; that they had the labour, and others the profit, although they themselves had secured the general safety; for that those who had accomplished this object were Arcadians and Achæans, and that the rest of the army was comparatively nothing; (and in reality more than half the army were Arcadians and Achæans;) 11. and therefore these, they said, if they were wise, should unite together, and, choosing leaders for themselves, should proceed on their way separately, and endeavour to secure themselves something to their profit. 12. To this proposal assent was given; and whatever Arcadians and Achæans were with Cheirisophus, leaving him and Xenophon, united with the rest, and all chose ten captains of their own; and they appointed that these should carry into execution whatever should be decided by the vote of the majority. The command of Cheirisophus over the whole army was thus ended on the sixth or seventh day after he had been elected.

13. Xenophon was inclined to pursue his way in company with them, thinking that this method would be safer than for each to proceed separately. But Neon persuaded him to go by himself, as having heard from Cheirisophus that

Cleander the governor of Byzantium had said that he would come with some galleys to the harbour of Calpe; 14. and he gave Xenophon this advice, therefore, in order that no one else might take advantage of this opportunity, but that they themselves only, and their own soldiers, might sail on board these galleys. As for Cheirisophus, who was both disheartened at what had occurred, and who from that time conceived a disgust at the army, he allowed Xenophon to act as he thought proper. 15. Xenophon was also inclined to detach himself from the army altogether, and to sail away; but as he was sacrificing to Hercules the Conductor, and consulting him whether it would be better and more advisable to march in company with such of the soldiers as remained, or to take leave of them, the god signified by the victims that he should march with them. 16. The army was thus divided into three bodies; the Arcadians and Achæans, to the number of more than four thousand five hundred men, all heavy-armed; the heavy-armed with Cheirisophus, in number fourteen hundred, with seven hundred peltasts, the Thracians of Clearchus; and seventeen hundred heavy-armed men, with three hundred peltasts, under Xenophon, who was the only one that had any cavalry, a body of about forty horsemen.

17. The Arcadians, having procured ships from the people of Heraclea, were the first to set sail, with the view of getting as much booty as they could by making a sudden descent upon the Bithynians, and accordingly disembarked at the harbour of Calpe, somewhere about the

middle of Thrace. 18. Cheirisophus, proceeding straight from the city of Heraclea, marched through the territory belonging to it; but when he entered Thrace, he kept along near the sea, for he was then in ill-health. 19. Xenophon, having obtained vessels, landed on the confines of Thrace and the region of Heraclea, and pursued his way through the inland parts.

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### CHAPTER III.

The Arcadians land at Calpe, and make an incursion into the territory of the Bithynians, where they are defeated by the enemy, and in danger of being cut to pieces; Xenophon proceeds to rescue them. All the Greeks join Cheirisophus at Calpe.

1. EACH of these three parties fared as follows. The Arcadians, disembarking by night at the port of Calpe, marched off to attack the nearest villages, lying about thirty stadia from the sea. As soon as it was light, each of the officers led his own division against a village; but against any village that appeared larger than the rest, they led two divisions together. 2. They fixed also upon a hill on which they were all to re-assemble. As they fell upon the people unexpectedly, they seized a great number of slaves and surrounded several flocks of cattle.

4. But the Thracians, as fast as they escaped, collected themselves into a body; and, as they were light-armed, the number that escaped, even from the very hands of the heavy-armed men, was great. As soon as they were collected, they



proceeded, in the first place, to fall upon the division of Smicres, one of the Arcadian captains, who was marching away to the place agreed upon, and carrying with him considerable booty. 5. For a while the Greeks defended themselves as they pursued their march, but, as they were crossing a ravine, the Thracians put them to the rout, and killed Smicres and all his party. Of another division of the ten captains, too, that of Hegesander, they left only eight men alive, Hegesander himself being one of those that escaped. 6. The other captains joined him at the appointed spot, some with difficulty, and others without any. The Thracians, however, in consequence of having met with this success, cheered on one another, and assembled in great spirits during the night. At day-break, numbers of horsemen and peltasts ranged themselves in a circle round the hill upon which the Greeks had encamped; 7. and as more came flocking to them, they attacked the heavy-armed men without danger, for the Greeks had neither archers, nor javelin-men, nor a single horseman, while the Thracians, running and riding up, hurled their darts among them, and when the Greeks offered to attack them, retreated with ease. 8. Some attempted one part, and some another; and many of the assailed were wounded, but none of the assailants. The Greeks were in consequence unable to move from the spot, and at last the Thracians cut them off even from water. 9. As their distress was great, they began to speak of terms of surrender; and other points were agreed upon between them, but

when the Greeks demanded hostages, the Thracians refused to give them; and upon this the treaty was stopped. Such were the fortunes of the Arcadians.

10. Cheirisophus, meanwhile, advancing unmolested along the coast, arrived at the harbour of Calpe. As for Xenophon, while he was marching through the middle of the country, his horsemen, riding on before him, fell in with some ambassadors who were on their journey to some place. As they were conducted to Xenophon, he inquired of them whether they had anywhere heard of another Greek army. 11. They gave him, in reply, an account of all that had occurred, saying that the Greeks were then besieged upon a hill, and that the whole force of the Thracians was collected round them. He therefore had these men strictly guarded, that they might act as guides wherever it might be necessary, and then, after stationing scouts, he called together his soldiers and addressed them thus :

12. "Soldiers, some of the Arcadians are killed, and others are besieged upon a hill; and I think that, if they are destroyed, there will be no hope of safety for us, the enemy being so numerous and so daring. 13. It seems best for us, therefore, to march to their relief with all possible speed, that, if they still survive, we may join with them in their struggle, and not, being left alone, meet danger alone. 14. Let us for the present, then, pitch our camp, marching on, however, until it seems time to sup, and whilst we are on the march, let Timasion, with the horse, ride on before, but keeping us still in

sight, and let him reconnoitre the country in front, that nothing may take us by surprise.”

15. He despatched, at the same time, some of the most active of the light-armed men to the parts on either flank, and to the hills, that if they saw anything threatening in any quarter, they might give notice of it. He ordered them also to burn whatever combustible matter they met with; 16. “for,” said he, “we could not flee from hence to any place of refuge; since it is a long way to go back to Heraclea, and a long way to go over to Chrysopolis; and the enemy are close at hand. To the harbour of Calpe, indeed, where we suppose Cheirisophus to be, if he is safe, the distance is but short; but even there, there are neither vessels in which we can sail from the place, nor subsistence, if we remain, even for a single day. 17. Should those who are besieged, however, be left to perish, it will be less advantageous for us to face danger in conjunction with the troops of Cheirisophus only, than, if the besieged are preserved, to unite all our forces, and struggle for our safety together. But we must go resolved in mind that we have now either to die gloriously, or achieve a most honourable exploit in the preservation of so many Greeks. 18. Perhaps some divinity orders it thus, who wishes to humble those that spoke boastfully, as if they were superior to us in wisdom, and to render us, who commence all our proceedings by consulting the gods, more honoured than they are. You must follow, then, your leaders, and pay attention to them, that you may be ready to execute what they order.”

19. Having spoken thus, he led them forward. The cavalry, scattering themselves about as far as was safe, spread fire wherever they went, while the peltasts, marching abreast of them along the heights, burned whatever they found that was combustible, as did the main body also, if they met with anything left unburned by the others; so that the whole country seemed to be on fire, and the Greek force to be very numerous. 20. As soon as it was time, they mounted a hill and encamped, when they caught sight of the enemy's fires, which were distant about forty stadia; and they themselves then made as many fires as they could. 21. But as soon as they had supped, orders were given to put out all the fires; and, having appointed sentinels, they went to sleep for the night. At dawn of day, after praying to the gods, and arranging themselves for battle, they continued their march with as much haste as they could. 22. Timasion and the cavalry, taking the guides with them, and riding on before the rest, found themselves, before they were aware, upon the hill where the Greeks had been besieged, but saw no troops, either of friends or enemies, but only some old men and women, and a few sheep and oxen that had been left behind; and this state of things they reported to Xenophon and the army. 23. At first they wondered what could have happened; but at length they learned from the people who were left that the Thracians had gone off at the close of the evening and the Greeks in the morning, but whither they did not know.

24. Xenophon and his party, on hearing this account, packed up their baggage, after they had breakfasted, and pursued their journey, wishing, as soon as possible, to join the rest of the Greeks at the harbour of Calpe. As they proceeded, they perceived the track of the Arcadians and Achæans on the way to Calpe; and when they met, they were pleased to see one another, and embraced like brothers. 25. The Arcadians then asked Xenophon's men why they had put out their fires, "for we," said they, "thought at first, when we saw no more fires, that you were coming to attack the enemy in the night; (and the enemy themselves, as they appeared to us, went off under this apprehension, for they disappeared about that time;)" 26. but as you did not come, and the time passed by, we concluded that you, hearing of our situation, had been seized with alarm, and had retreated to the sea-coast; and we determined not to be far behind you. Accordingly we also marched in this direction.

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## CHAPTER IV.

Description of Calpe. The army resolve that it shall be a capital offence to propose another separation. Neon leads out a party of two thousand men to get provisions, contrary to the omens; he is attacked by Pharnabazus, and obliged to retire with the loss of five hundred men. Xenophon covers his retreat.

1. THIS day they remained encamped upon the shore near the port. The spot which is called the harbour of Calpe, is situate in Asiatic

Thrace; and this division of Thrace, beginning from the mouth of the Euxine Sea, extends on the right of a person sailing into the Euxine, as far as Heraclea. 2. From Byzantium to Heraclea it is a long day's passage for a galley with oars; and in the space between these cities there is no other town belonging to the Greeks or their allies; but the Bithynian Thracians occupy it; and whatever Greeks they capture, cast ashore by shipwreck or any other accident, they are said to treat with great cruelty. 3. The harbour of Calpe itself lies half-way between Heraclea and Byzantium, as people sail from either side. On the sea there is a promontory jutting out; that part of it which reaches down into the water is a steep rock, in height, where it is lowest, not less than twenty fathoms; the neck of the promontory, which reaches up to the mainland, is in breadth about four hundred feet; and the space within the neck is large enough to afford accommodation for ten thousand men. 4. The harbour lies close under the rock, with its coast toward the west. A spring of fresh water, flowing copiously, is close by the sea, and under cover of the promontory. Abundance of wood, of various other sorts, but especially of such as is good for ship-building, grows along the coast. 5. The mountain at the harbour extends inland about twenty stadia, and this part of it has a soil of mould, free from stones; the other part along the sea, to the distance of more than twenty stadia, is covered with plenty of large trees of every kind. 6. The surrounding country is beautiful and of great extent, and there are in it

many populous villages; for the soil produces barley, wheat, all kinds of leguminous vegetables, millet, sesame, figs in abundance, plenty of vines yielding a sweet wine, and everything else but olive-trees. 7. Such is the nature of the country.

The Greeks took up their quarters on the shore by the sea. In the part which might have been ground for a city they were unwilling to encamp; for even their approach to it appeared to have been the effect of some insidious design, from the belief that certain persons were desirous to found a city there. 8. For most of the soldiers had sailed from home upon this service, not from want of subsistence, but from having heard of the merit of Cyrus, some even bringing men with them, others having spent money on the enterprise, others having left their fathers and mothers, others their children, in hope of returning when they had collected money for them, for they heard that other Greeks who were with Cyrus were acquiring considerable wealth. Being men of such character, they longed to return in safety to Greece.

9. When the day after their meeting together began to dawn, Xenophon offered sacrifice with regard to an expedition, for it was necessary to lead out the troops to get provisions; and he was also thinking of burying the dead. As the victims were favourable, the Arcadians also accompanied him, and buried the greatest part of the dead where they had severally fallen; for they had now lain five days, and it was no longer possible to bring them away; some of them how-

ever they gathered together out of the roads, and buried as becomingly as they could with the means at their command; while for those whom they could not find they erected a large cenotaph, [with a great funeral pile,] and put garlands upon it. 10. Having performed these rites, they returned to their camp, and, after they had supped, went to rest.

Next day all the soldiers held a meeting; (Agasias of Stymphalus, one of the captains, and Hieronymus of Elis, also a captain, and others, the oldest of the Arcadian officers, were the most active in bringing them together;) 11. and they passed a resolution, that if any one for the future should propose to divide the army, he should be punished with death; and that the army should return homewards in the same order in which it was before, and that the former leaders should resume the command. Cheirisophus was now dead, from having taken some drug during a fever; and Neon of Asina took his place.

12. After this Xenophon stood up and said, "It seems evident, fellow-soldiers, that we must pursue our journey by land, for we have no ships; and it is necessary for us to set out at once, for there are no provisions for us if we remain. We will therefore," he continued, "offer sacrifice; and you must prepare yourselves, if ever you did so, to fight; for the enemy have recovered their spirit." 13. The generals then offered sacrifice; and Arexion the Arcadian assisted as augur; for Silanus of Ambracia had already fled, having hired a vessel from Heraclea. They sacrificed with a view to their departure,



but the victims were not favourable. 14. This day therefore they rested. Some had the boldness to say that Xenophon, from a desire to settle a colony in the place, had prevailed on the augur to say that the victims were unfavourable to their departure. 15. Xenophon, in consequence, having made proclamation that whoever wished might be present at a sacrifice on the morrow, and having given notice also, that if there was any augur among the soldiers, he should attend to inspect the victims with them, made another sacrifice, and a great number of persons were present at it; 16. but though they sacrificed again three times with reference to their departure, the victims were still unfavourable to it. The soldiers were on this account extremely uneasy, for the provisions which they had brought with them were exhausted, and there was no place near for them to purchase any.

17. They therefore held another meeting, and Xenophon said, "The victims, as you see, fellow-soldiers, are not yet favourable for our departure; and I see that you are in want of provisions. It seems to me necessary, therefore, to offer sacrifice with regard to this matter." 18. Here some one rose up and said, "It is with good reason, indeed, that the victims are unfavourable; for, as I heard from a person belonging to a vessel that came in yesterday by accident, Cleander, the governor of Byzantium, is on the point of coming hither with transport vessels and galleys." 19. In consequence they all resolved to stay. But it was necessary to go out for provisions; and to

this end sacrifice was again offered three times, but the victims were still unfavourable.

The soldiers now came to Xenophon's tent, and told him that they had no provisions. He however replied, that he would not lead them out while the victims were adverse. 20. The next day sacrifice was offered again, and, as all were concerned, almost the whole army crowded around the sacrifice; and the victims fell short. Still the generals did not lead out the troops, but called them, however, together; 21. and Xenophon said, "Perhaps the enemy may be assembled in a body, and it may be necessary for us to fight: if, therefore, leaving our baggage in the strong part of the ground, we march out prepared for battle, the victims may possibly prove more favourable to us." 22. But the soldiers, on hearing this observation, cried out that it was of no use to lead them to the part that he mentioned, but that they ought to sacrifice without delay. Sheep were no longer to be had, but they bought an ox that was yoked to a waggon, and sacrificed it; and Xenophon begged Cleanor the Arcadian to be on the alert if anything in the sacrifice should appear propitious. But not even on this occasion were the signs favourable.

23. Neon was now general in the place of Cheirisophus, and when he saw how the men were suffering from want of food, was desirous to get them relief, and having found a man of Heraclea, who said that he knew of some villages in the neighbourhood, from which it might be possible to procure provisions, he made proclamation that whoever was willing might go out to

get a supply as there would be a guide to conduct them. A party accordingly proceeded from the camp, to the number of two thousand, equipped with spears, leather bags, sacks, and other things for holding what they might find. 24. But when they had reached the villages, and had dispersed themselves to plunder, the cavalry of Pharnabazus first fell upon them, for they had come to aid the Bithynians, designing, if they could, in conjunction with them, to prevent the Greeks from penetrating into Phrygia. These horsemen cut off not less than five hundred of the Greeks; the rest fled to the mountain.

25. One of those who escaped immediately carried the news of the occurrence to the camp; and Xenophon, as the victims had not been propitious that day, took an ox from a waggon, (for there were no other cattle,) and, after sacrificing it, went forth to give aid, with all the other soldiers not above thirty years of age. 26. They brought off the rest of the party, and returned to the camp.

It was now about sunset, and the Greeks were taking their supper in great despondency, when some of the Bithynians, coming suddenly upon the advanced guard through the thickets, killed part of them, and pursued the rest to the camp. 27. A great outcry arising, all the Greeks ran to their arms; but it did not seem safe to pursue the enemy or break up their camp, in the night, for the country was full of wood; and they therefore passed the night under arms, covered by sufficient out-posts.

## CHAPTER V.

The Greeks, moved by their previous dangers, at length consent to encamp in the strong part of the ground. Xenophon, having sacrificed, and placed a guard in the camp, led out the troops, who, after burying the dead that they found on the way, and possessing themselves of some booty from the villages, perceive the Barbarians posted upon a hill. They proceed to attack them, and though obstructed by a valley difficult to cross, are animated by the valour and eloquence of Xenophon to achieve a successful issue.

1. IN this manner they passed the night. At day-break the generals proceeded to the strong part of the ground; and the men followed, bringing with them their arms and baggage. Before it was time for dinner, they completed a trench on the side where the entrance to the place was, and fenced the whole length with palisades, leaving three gates. A vessel meanwhile had arrived from Heraclea, bringing barley-meal, cattle, and wine.

2. Xenophon, rising early, had sacrificed with reference to an excursion, and in the first victim the omens were favourable. Just as the sacrifice came to a conclusion, Arexion of Parrhasia, the augur, saw a lucky eagle, and encouraged Xenophon to lead forth. 3. The men, therefore, crossing the trench, ranged themselves under arms; and the heralds made proclamation that the soldiers, after taking their dinner, should march out equipped for battle, and leave the camp-followers and slaves where they were. 4. All the rest accordingly went out, except Neon; for it was thought best to leave him in guard of the people in the camp. But when the captains and soldiers had left them, they were ashamed

not to follow where the others went, and in consequence left only those who were above forty-five years of age; these therefore remained, and the rest went forth. 5. But before they had proceeded fifteen stadia, they began to meet with dead bodies, and bringing up the rear of their line opposite the corpses that were first seen, they buried all to which the line extended. 6. When they had interred this first set, they marched on, and again bringing up their rear against the first of those that they next found unburied, they buried in like manner as many as the line took in. When they came to the road that lead to the villages, where the dead bodies lay in great numbers, they brought them all together and buried them.

7. It was now past mid-day, and having marched quite through the villages, the men were engaged in taking whatever provisions they found within reach of the line, when, on a sudden, they caught sight of the enemy marching over some hills that were facing them, disposed in a line, consisting of a large number of both cavalry and infantry; for Spithridates and Rathines had now arrived with a considerable force from Pharnabazus. 8. As soon as the enemy perceived the Greeks, they halted at the distance of about fifteen stadia. Upon this Arexion, the augur of the Greeks, immediately offered sacrifice, and in the very first victim the omens were favourable. 9. Xenophon then said, "It appears to me, fellow-captains, that we ought to station some divisions on the watch behind the main body, in order that, if it should anywhere

be necessary, there may be troops to support that body, and that the enemy, when thrown into disorder, may be received by men in array and full vigour." This proposal was approved by all. 10. "Advance then," he continued, "on the road towards the enemy, that, since we have been seen by them, and have seen them, we may not stand still; and I, after having arranged the divisions in the rear, as you have sanctioned, will join you."

11. The others then advanced quietly forward, and Xenophon, detaching from the main body the three hindmost companies, consisting of about two hundred men each, ordered one of them to follow on the right, at the distance of about a hundred feet behind; this company Samolax the Achæan commanded. The second he directed to follow in the centre; this company Pyrrhias the Arcadian headed. The other he stationed on the left; this Phrasias the Athenian led. 12. As the front line, in marching on, came to a woody ravine, of great extent and difficult to pass, they halted, not knowing whether it were possible to cross it, and passed the word for the generals and captains to come to the front. 13. Xenophon, wondering what it was that stopped their progress, but soon hearing the word passed, rode up as fast as he could. When the officers came together, Sophænetus, the oldest of the generals, said it was not worth consideration whether a ravine of such a nature were passable or not. 14. But Xenophon, eagerly seizing opportunity to speak, said,

"You are certain, my fellow-soldiers, that I

have never voluntarily brought danger upon you, for I see that you do not want reputation for valour, but safety. 15. But now the matter stands thus with us: it is not possible for us to move from hence without fighting; for if we do not advance upon the enemy, the enemy will pursue and attack us when we retreat. 16. Consider, then, whether it is better for us to proceed against the foe holding out our arms in front of us, or, when we have turned them back, to find the enemy following behind us. 17. You know, assuredly, that to flee from an enemy has no semblance of honour, but that pursuit puts courage even into cowards. For my own part, I had rather pursue with half the number of men than retreat with twice as many. As for these enemies, I know that you yourselves do not expect them to make a stand against us, if we charge them; but we are all aware that if we draw back they will have courage enough to follow us.

18. "But that we, by crossing, should place a difficult ravine in our rear, when we are going to engage, is not this an advantage worth securing? As for the enemy, I should wish every spot of ground to appear passable to them, so that they may retreat; but it is for us to be instructed by the nature of our position that there is no safety for us unless we conquer. 19. I wonder, too, whether any of us thinks this ravine more formidable than many other places that we have passed.

"How, indeed, will the plain be passable, unless we defeat the cavalry? How will the hills that we have traversed be passable, if so many peltasts

pursue us? 20. Even if we arrive safe at the sea, how large a ravine will the Euxine prove to us, where there are neither vessels to convey us away, nor provisions to support us if we remain; and the more haste we should make thither, the more haste must we make to go out again to find subsistence. 21. It is better therefore for us to fight now, when we have dined, than to-morrow, when we may be without a dinner. The sacrifices, soldiers, are favourable, the omens encouraging, the victims most auspicious. Let us march against the foe. Since they have certainly seen us, they ought not now to sup at their ease, or to encamp where they like."

22. The captains then bade him lead on, and no one made any objection. He accordingly put himself at their head, ordering each to cross at that part of the ravine where he happened to be; for he thought that the army would thus sooner get over the ravine in a body than if they defiled over the bridge that lay across it. 23. When they had passed over, he said, as he passed along the line, "Remember, soldiers, how many battles, with the assistance of the gods, you have gained by coming to close quarters with the enemy, and how those fare who turn their backs upon their adversaries. Reflect also that you are at the very gates of Greece. 24. Follow, then, Hercules your Conductor, and exhort one another by name. It is pleasing to reflect, that he who now says and does anything brave and honourable, will preserve a remembrance of himself among those with whom he would wish to preserve it."



25. These exhortations he uttered as he rode along, and at the same time proceeded to lead forward the troops in column; and with the peltasts on each flank, they marched upon the enemy. He gave orders that they should carry their spears upon the right shoulder until a signal should be given with the trumpet, and that then, lowering them for a charge they should follow their leaders at a steady pace, and that none should advance running. The word was immediately after given, JUPITER THE PRESERVER AND HERCULES THE CONDUCTOR. The enemy, meanwhile, kept their position, thinking that they had the ground in their favour. 26. As the Greeks approached them, the peltasts shouted, and ran forward to charge them before any one gave orders; and the enemy rushed to meet them, both the horse and the mass of Bithynians, and put them to flight. 27. But when the body of heavy-armed men came up, advancing at a quick pace, and when the trumpet sounded, and the men sang the pæan and shouted, and lowered their spears, the enemy then no longer awaited their charge, but took to flight. 28. Timasion and the cavalry pursued them, and killed as many as they could, being but few. The enemy's left wing, to which the Greek cavalry were opposed, was at once dispersed, but the right, not being closely pursued, rallied upon a hill. 29. As soon as the Greeks, however, saw them making a stand, it appeared to them the easiest and safest thing they could do, to charge them without delay. Singing the pæan, therefore, they immediately advanced upon them; and

the enemy withdrew. The peltasts then pursued them till the right wing was also dispersed; but only a small number were killed; for the enemy's cavalry, being numerous, kept the Greeks in awe. 30. But when they observed the cavalry of Pharnabazus still standing in a body, and the Bithynian cavalry flocking to join them, and looking down from an eminence on what was going on, they determined, tired as they were, to make an assault upon them as vigorously as possible, that they might not take breath and recover their courage. 31. Drawing up in close order, therefore, they advanced; when the enemy's horse fled down the hill as if they had been pursued by cavalry; for there was a valley to receive them, of which the Greeks were not aware, as they had desisted from the pursuit before they reached it, it being now late. 32. Returning then to the place where the first encounter occurred, they erected a trophy, and went off towards the sea about sunset. The distance to their camp was about sixty stadia.

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## CHAPTER VI.

The Greeks plunder Bythnia. Cleander, the Spartan governor of Byzantium, arrives, and is prejudiced against the Greeks by Dexippus, but reconciled to them by the efforts of Xenophon. Cleander declines the chief command, which is offered him, and the army march under their former generals through Bythnia to Chrysopolis.

1. THE enemy now employed themselves about their own affairs, and removed their families and effects as far off as they could. The Greeks, in

the mean time, waited for Cleander and the galleys and transport vessels that were to come, and, going out every day with their baggage-cattle and slaves, brought in, without fear of danger, wheat, barley, wine, leguminous vegetables, millet, and figs; for the country afforded every useful production except olives.

2. While the army lay at rest in the camp, the men had liberty, individually, to go out for spoil, and those only who went out had a share of it; but when the whole army went out, and any one, straggling from the rest, took any booty, it was adjudged to be public property.

3. They had now abundance of everything; for provisions for sale were brought from the Greek cities in every direction, and people who were sailing along the coast, hearing that a city was going to be built, and a harbour formed, willingly put in there. 4. Such of the enemy, too, as lived in the neighbourhood, sent to Xenophon, hearing that he had the management of the intended settlement, to ask what they should do in order to become his friends; and he introduced them among the soldiers.

5. Cleander now arrived with two galleys, but no transport vessel. At the time of his coming, it happened that the body of the army was gone out; while some stragglers, going over the mountain for plunder, some one way, some another, had taken a great number of sheep, and being afraid that they would be taken from them, informed Dexippus of the matter, (the same that had run away with the fifty-oared galley from Trebisond,) and requested him to keep the sheep

for them, taking part for himself, and giving them back the rest. 6. Dexippus immediately drove off the soldiers that stood round, and who said that the sheep were public property, and, going to Cleander, told him that they were endeavouring to seize them as plunder for themselves. Cleander desired him to bring whoever should seize them before him. 7. Dexippus accordingly laid hold on one of the men, and was taking him off, when Agasias, meeting him, rescued the man; the prisoner being a private of his own troop. The rest of the soldiers that were there began to throw stones at Dexippus, calling him again and again, "the traitor." Not only he, in consequence, but also many of the men belonging to his galleys, were struck with terror, and fled towards the sea; and Cleander fled likewise. 8. But Xenophon, and the other generals, endeavoured to stop their flight, and told Cleander that there was no reason for alarm, but that the resolution passed by the army was the cause of the occurrence. 9. Cleander, however, being instigated by Dexippus, and vexed with himself for having shown so much fear, said that he would sail off, and make proclamation that none of the cities should receive them, as being public enemies. The Lacedæmonians were at that time masters of all Greece.

10. This affair appeared to the Greeks to threaten evil, and they entreated Cleander not to do so; but he said that it could not be otherwise, unless somebody should give up to him the man that began to throw stones, and the person that rescued him. 11. The person that he wanted

was Agasias, the constant friend of Xenophon, for which reason Dexippus had accused him. As there was much perplexity, therefore, the generals called together the soldiers; and some of them made light of Cleander's menaces, but to Xenophon the affair appeared of no small importance. Rising up, he said,

12. "It seems to me, soldiers, a matter of no trifling moment, if Cleander goes away, as he threatens, cherishing these feelings towards us; for the Greek cities are close at hand, the Lacedæmonians are the chief people of Greece, and each individual Lacedæmonian is able to do what he pleases in these cities. 13. If therefore he first shuts us out of Byzantium, and then gives notice to the other governors not to admit us into their cities, as persons refusing obedience to the Lacedæmonians and submitting to no law, and this character of us reaches the ears of Anaxibius the admiral, it will be difficult for us either to remain or to sail away, for at this moment the Lacedæmonians are masters both by land and sea. 14. We ought not, therefore, for the sake of one or two men, to exclude ourselves from Greece, but to do whatever they direct; for the cities, from which we come, yield them obedience. 15. I, for my own part, (for I hear that Dexippus assures Cleander that Agasias would have done nothing in the matter if I had not instigated him,) for my part, I say, I am ready to clear you and Agasias from blame, if Agasias himself shall say that I was at all the cause of these proceedings, and I am prepared to condemn myself, if I encouraged stone-throwing or

any other act of violence, as deserving of the severest punishment, and that punishment I will submit to suffer. 16. I say, too, that if Dexippus accuses any other person, he ought to surrender himself to Cleander to be tried; for by this means you may be exonerated from all censure. Under the present complexion of the case, it will be hard, if, when we expect applause and honour in Greece, we shall, instead of obtaining them, be not even on an equality with the rest of our countrymen, but be excluded from the Greek cities."

17. Agasias then stood up and said, "I swear, my fellow-soldiers, by all the gods and goddesses, that neither Xenophon, nor any other person among you, desired me to rescue the man; but, when I saw a brave fellow, one of my own troop, led off by Dexippus, (who, you are aware, has played the traitor towards you.) it seemed to me, I own, intolerable, and I set him free. 18. You need not, then, deliver me up, for I will surrender myself, as Xenophon recommends, to Cleander, to do to me, after having tried me, whatever he pleases. As far as this matter is concerned, enter into no contention with the Lacedæmonians. May each of you return in safety to whatever place he would reach! Make choice, however, of some of your own number, and send them with me to Cleander, that, if I omit anything, they may speak and act for me." 19. Upon this the army allowed him to choose whomsoever he would, and to go. He chose the generals.

Agasias and the generals, and the man that

had been released by Agasias, accordingly proceeded to Cleander; and the generals said, 20. "The army has sent us to you, O Cleander, and requests that if you accuse them all, you will yourself be the judge of them all, and treat them as you may think fit; or, if you accuse one or two or more, they think it right that they should surrender themselves to you for judgment. If therefore you accuse any one of us, we are here before you; if any other, let us know; for no man, who is willing to obey us, shall refuse to submit to you."

21. Agasias next stood forward, and said, "I am the person, O Cleander, that rescued this man when Dexippus was carrying him off, and that incited the men to stone Dexippus; 22. for I knew that the soldier was a deserving man, and I knew also that Dexippus, after having been chosen by the army to command the galley which we begged of the people of Trebisond, for the purpose of collecting transport vessels to save ourselves, had run away and betrayed the soldiers in common with whom he had preserved his life. 23. Through his misconduct, therefore, we have both deprived the people of Trebisond of their galley, and seem to have acted dishonestly; and, as far as depended on him, we were utterly undone; for he had heard, as well as we, that it would be impracticable for us, going by land, to cross the rivers and get safe to Greece. 24. It was from such a character as this that I rescued the man. If you had been leading him away, or any one of those belonging to you, and not one of our own deserters, be assured that I

should have done nothing of the kind. Consider, then, that if you put me to death, you will put to death a man of honour for the sake of a coward and a villain."

25. Cleander, on hearing this statement, said that he could not approve of the conduct of Dexippus, if he had acted in such a way, but observed, at the same time, that even if Dexippus were the worst of villains, he ought not to suffer any violence, but to be tried, ("as you yourselves," said he, "now propose,") and to have his deserts. 26. "For the present then," he continued, "retire, leaving Agasias with me, and, when I give you notice, come to witness his trial. I neither accuse the army, nor any one else, since Agasias himself confesses that it was he who released the man." 27. The man who had been released then said, "If you suppose, O Cleander, that I was apprehended for doing something wrong, be assured that I neither struck nor threw stones at any one, but merely said that the sheep were public property; for it was a resolution passed by the soldiers, that if, when the whole army went out, any particular person made any capture by himself, that capture should go to the public store. 28. This was what I said; and Dexippus, in consequence, seized me and was leading me off, so that no one might utter a syllable, but that he himself, securing a share of the booty, might keep the rest for the plunderers, contrary to the resolution of the army. To this Cleander replied, "since you are that sort of person, stay here, that we may consider respecting you likewise."



29. Cleander and his party then went to dinner; and Xenophon assembled the troops, and advised them to send some persons to Cleander to make intercession for the men. 30. They accordingly resolved to depute the generals and captains, with Dracontius the Spartan, and such of the rest as seemed eligible, to entreat Cleander by all means to set the two men free. 31. Xenophon, going to him, said, "You have the men in your hands, O Cleander, and the army has allowed you to do what you please with regard both to them and to their whole force. They now, however, request and entreat of you to give up the two men to them, and not to put them to death; for they exerted themselves greatly, in time past, to be of service to the army. 32. Should they obtain this favour from you, they promise you, in return for it, that if you are willing to be their leader, and the gods are propitious, they will let you see both how well-disciplined they are, and how incapable, when obedient to their general, and aided by superior powers, of fearing an enemy. 33. They also beg of you, that when you have come and taken the command of them, you will make trial of Dexitus and the rest of them, ascertain what sort of person each is, and give every one his desert."

34. Cleander, on hearing this application, replied, "By the twin gods, I will give you an answer at once. I give up the men to you, and will come to you myself; and, if the gods permit, I will lead you into Greece. Your words are very different from the accounts that I heard

of some of you, namely, that you were alienating the army from the Lacedæmonians." 35. The deputies then took their leave, applauding Cleander, and taking with them the two men.

Cleander offered a sacrifice with reference to the journey, and associated in a friendly way with Xenophon; and they contracted a bond of hospitality between them. When he saw the Greek soldiers, too, execute their orders with regularity, he grew still more desirous to become their commander. 26. But as the omens were not favourable to his wishes, though he offered sacrifices three days, he called the generals together, and said, "The victims have not been favourable for me to lead you out; but be not discouraged on that account; for it is given to you, as it appears, to conduct the army home. Proceed then; and we will receive you at Byzantium when you arrive there, in the best manner that we can." 37. It was then resolved by the soldiers to make him a present of the sheep that were public property; and he, having accepted them, gave them back to the soldiers again, and then sailed off.

The army, having disposed of the corn which they had collected, and the other booty that they had captured, advanced through the territory of the Bithynians. 38. But as, while they pursued the straight road, they met with nothing to enable them to enter the country of their friends with a portion of spoil, they resolved upon marching back for a day and a night; and, having done so, they took great numbers both of slaves and cattle, and arrived, after six

days' march, at Chrysopolis in Chalcedonia, where they stayed seven days to sell their booty.

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## BOOK VII.

### CHAPTER I.

Anaxibius, at the instigation of Pharnabazus, who wishes to get the Greeks out of his territory, allures them, with hopes of employment and pay, to Byzantium. They accordingly appear in arms before the city, but finding the gates shut against them, force an entrance, and are with great difficulty pacified by Xenophon. Cœratades, a Theban, offers to lead them into Thrace, and his proposal is accepted; but he soon shows his incapacity, and lays down the command.

1. WHAT the Greeks did in their march up the country with Cyrus, until the battle was fought, what they experienced in their retreat, after Cyrus was dead, till they reached the Euxine Sea, and how they fared, in their progress by sea and land, from the time that they arrived at the Euxine until they got beyond the mouth of it to Chrysopolis in Asia, has been related in the preceding part of the narrative.

2. Pharnabazus, fearing that the army of the Greeks might make an irruption into his province, sent to Anaxibius the Spartan admiral, who was at Byzantium, and begged him to transport the army out of Asia, promising to do for him in return whatever he might require of him. 3. Anaxibius, accordingly, sent for the generals and captains of the troops to Byzantium, engaging that if they came over to him, pay

should be given to the men. 4. The rest of the officers said they would give him an answer after they had considered of the matter; but Xenophon told him that he was going to leave the army, and wanted to sail away. Anaxibius, however, requested him to come across with the rest, and then to take his departure. Xenophon therefore said that he would do so.

5. In the mean time Seuthes the Thracian sent Medosades to Xenophon, requesting that general to join with him in using his efforts that the army might cross over, and saying that he should have no cause to repent of assisting him in that object. 6. Xenophon replied, "The army will doubtless cross over; let him give nothing to me therefore, or to any one else, on that account. When it has crossed, I shall quit it; so let him address himself to those who stay, and who may seem able to serve him, in such a manner as may appear likely to be successful."

7. Soon after, the whole army of the Greeks crossed over to Byzantium. Anaxibius however gave them no pay, but made proclamation that the soldiers should take their arms and baggage, and go out of the city, signifying that he intended at once to send them away home, and to take their number. The soldiers were in consequence greatly troubled, because they had no money to get provisions for their journey, and packed up their baggage with reluctance.

8. Xenophon, who had become a guest-friend to Cleander the governor, went to take leave of him, with the intention of sailing away immediately. But Cleander said to him, "By no means

do so, for, if you do, you will incur blame, since some people, indeed, already accuse you as the cause that the army proceeds out so slowly." 9. Xenophon replied, "I am not the cause of this, but the soldiers, being in want of provisions, are for that reason, of themselves, reluctant to go out." 10. "However I advise you," rejoined Cleander, "to go out with them, as if you intended to accompany them, and when the army is clear of the city, then to quit it." "We will then go to Anaxibius," said Xenophon, "and further the proceedings." They accordingly went, and told him that such was their intention. 11. He recommended that they should act in conformity with what they said, and that the troops should go out as soon as possible with their baggage packed up; desiring them to give notice, at the same time, that whoever should not be present at the review and numbering of the army, would have himself to blame. 12. The generals then went out first, and the rest of the army followed them.

They were now all out except a few, and Eteonicus was standing by the gates, ready to shut them, and thrust in the bar, as soon as they were all outside, 13. when Anaxibius, summoning the generals and captains, said, "You may take provisions from the Thracian villages; for there is plenty of barley and wheat, and other necessaries in them; and when you have supplied yourselves, proceed to the Chersonesus, and there Cyniscus will give you pay." 14. Some of the soldiers that overheard this, or some one of the captains, communicated it to the army. The

generals, meanwhile, inquired about Seuthes, whether he would prove hostile or friendly, and whether they must march over the Sacred Mountain, or round about through the middle of Thrace. 15. But while they were talking of these matters, the soldiers, snatching up their arms, ran in haste to the gates, with a design to make their way back within the walls. Eteonicus, however, and those about him, when they saw the heavy-armed men running towards them, shut the gates, and thrust in the bar. 16. The soldiers then knocked at the gates, and said that they were treated most unjustly, in being shut out as a prey to the enemy, and declared that they would split the gates asunder, if the people did not open them of their own accord. 17. Some ran off to the sea, and got over into the city by the pier of the wall; while others of them, who happened to be still in the town, when they perceived what was passing at the gates, cut the bars in twain with their axes, and set the gates wide open. They then all rushed in.

18. Xenophon, observing what was going on, and fearing lest the army should fall to plundering, and irreparable mischief be done, not only to the city, but to himself and the men, ran and got within the gates along with the crowd. 19. The people of Byzantium, at the same time, when they saw the army entering by force, fled from the market-place, some to the ships, and some to their houses, while others, who happened to be within-doors, ran out; some hauled down the galleys into the water, that they might save themselves in them; and all believed themselves

ruined, regarding the city as captured. 20. Eteonicus fled to the citadel. Anaxibius, running down to the sea, sailed round to the same place in a fishing-boat, and immediately sent for men from the garrison at Chalcedon; for those in the citadel did not appear sufficient to repel the Greeks.

21. The soldiers, as soon as they saw Xenophon, ran up to him in great numbers, and cried, "You have now an opportunity, O Xenophon, to become a great man. You are in possession of a city, you have galleys, you have money, you have this large number of men. Now, therefore, if you are inclined, you may benefit us, and we may make you a distinguished man." 22. Xenophon replied, "You say well, and I will act accordingly; but if you aim at this object, range yourselves under arms as quickly as possible," for he wished to quiet them, and not only gave these orders himself, but desired the other officers also to command the men to range themselves under arms. 23. As the men, too, began to marshal themselves, the heavy-armed troops soon formed eight deep, and the peltasts ran to take their station on each wing. 24. The ground, which was called the Thracian Area, was excellent for the arrangement of troops, being clear of houses, and level. When the arms were in their places, and the men somewhat tranquilized, Xenophon called the soldiers round him, and spoke as follows:

25. "That you are angry, soldiers, and think you have been treated strangely in being deceived, I am not at all surprised; but if we

gratify our resentment, and not only take revenge on the Lacedæmonians, who are here, for their imposition, but plunder the city which is not at all to blame, consider what will be the consequences; 26. we shall be the declared enemies both of the Lacedæmonians and their allies. What will be the nature of a war with them, we may conjecture, as we have seen and remember what has recently occurred. 27. We Athenians entered upon the contest with the Lacedæmonians and their allies, with not less than three hundred galleys, some at sea and some in the docks, with a great sum of money in the Acropolis, and with a yearly revenue, from our customs at home and our territory abroad, of not less than a thousand talents; but though we were masters of all the islands, were possessed of many cities in Asia, and many others in Europe, and of this very Byzantium where we now are, yet we were reduced in the war to such a condition as you all know. 28. And what may we now expect to be our fate, when the Lacedæmonians and Achæans are in alliance; when the Athenians, and those who were then allied with them, have become an accession to the Spartan power; when Tissaphernes, and all the other Barbarians on the sea-coast, are our enemies, and the king of Persia himself our greatest enemy, whom we went to despoil of his throne, and, if we could, to deprive of life? When all these opponents are united against us, is there anybody so senseless as to think that we could get the superiority? 29. Let us not, in the name of the gods, act like madmen, and perish with



disgrace, by becoming enemies to our country, and to our own friends and relations! For our connexions are all in the cities that will make war upon us, and that will make war justly indeed, if, when we declined to possess ourselves of any Barbarian city, though we were superior in force, we should plunder the first Greek city at which we have arrived. 30. For my own part, I pray that, before I see such an atrocity committed by you, I may be buried ten thousand fathoms under ground. I advise you, as you are Greeks, to endeavour to obtain justice by submitting to those who are masters of the Greeks. Should you be unable to obtain it, however, we ought not, though wronged, to deprive ourselves of all hope of returning to Greece. 31. It appears to me, therefore, that we should now send deputies to Anaxibius, with this message: 'We came into the city with no design to commit violence, but, if we could, to obtain some service from you; but, if we obtain none, we intend to show that we shall go out of it, not because we have been deceived, but because we are willing to obey you.'"

32. This proposal met with approbation; and they despatched Hieronymus the Elean, Eurylochus the Arcadian, and Philesius the Achæan, to carry the message. They accordingly proceeded to deliver it.

33. But while the soldiers were still seated, Cœratades, a Theban, came up to them; a man who was going about the country, not banished from Greece, but wanting to be a general, and offering his services wherever any city or people

required a leader; and, as he came forward, he said that he was prepared to conduct them to that part of Thrace called the Delta, where they would find plenty of good things, and that, till they should arrive there, he would supply them with meat and drink in abundance. 34. The soldiers listened to this offer, and heard, at the same time, the reply brought from Anaxibius, for he had sent an answer that "if they complied with his wishes, they should have no cause to repent; and that he would report their conduct to the authorities at Sparta, and would contrive to do for them whatever service he could." 35. The soldiers, in consequence, took Cœratades as their leader, and went out of the city, Cœratades engaging to come to the army next day with victims for sacrifice, an augur, and meat and drink for the troops. 36. As soon as they were gone out, Anaxibius caused the gates to be shut, and proclamation made, that whoever of the soldiers should be found within, should be sold as a slave.

37. Next day Cœratades came with the victims and the augur; and twenty men followed him carrying barley-meal, and other twenty carrying wine; three also with as large a load as they could bear of olives; one with as much as he could carry of garlic, and another of onions. Having ordered these things to be laid down, as if for distribution, he proceeded to offer sacrifice.

38. Xenophon, meanwhile, having sent for Cleander, urged him to obtain permission for him to enter the walls, and to sail away from

Byzantium. 39. When Cleander arrived, he said, "I am come, after having obtained the permission with extreme difficulty; for Anaxibius says that it is not proper for the soldiers to be close to the walls, and Xenophon within; and that the Byzantines are split into factions, and at enmity one with another; yet he has desired you," he added, "to enter, if you intend to sail with him." 40. Xenophon accordingly took leave of the soldiers, and went into the city with Cleander.

Cœratades, the first day, had no favourable omens from the sacrifice, and distributed nothing among the troops. The next day the victims were placed at the altar, and Cœratades took his station with a chaplet on his head, as if intending to offer sacrifice; when Timasion the Dardanian, Neon the Asinæan, and Cleanor the Orchomenian, came forward and told Cœratades not to sacrifice, as he should not lead the army, unless he supplied it with provisions. 41. He then ordered a distribution to be made. But as his supply fell far short of one day's subsistence for each of the soldiers, he went off, taking with him the victims, and renouncing the generalship.

## CHAPTER II.

The generals disagreeing about the route, many of the soldiers desert. Anaxibius and Xenophon, on their voyage, are met at Cyzicus by Aristarchus, Cleander's successor; he sells four hundred of the Greeks for slaves. Xenophon returns to the army, and the Greeks, on his advice, agree to sail back to Asia, but are hindered by Aristarchus. Their services are solicited by Seuthes, and Xenophon goes to learn his terms.

1. But Neon the Asinæan, Phryniscus, Philæsius, Xanthicles, all Achæans, and Timasion the Dardanian, remained in command of the army, and marching forward to some villages of the Thracians, over against Byzantium, encamped there. 2. The generals had now some disagreement, Cleanor and Phryniscus wishing to lead the army to Seuthes, (for he had gained them over to his interest, having presented a horse to the one, and a mistress to the other,) and Neon desiring to take it to the Chersonesus, as he thought that if they came into the dominions of the Lacedæmonians, he himself would get the command of the whole army. Timasion, however, wanted to cross over again into Asia, expecting by this means to effect his return home. 3. The army were of the same mind; but, while time was wasted in the discussion, many of the soldiers deserted; some, selling their arms up and down the country, sailed away as they could; others joined the people in the neighbouring towns. 4. Anaxibius was pleased to hear these accounts of the dispersion of the army; for he thought that by such a state of things he should most gratify Pharnabazus.

5. As Anaxibius was on his voyage from Byzantium, Aristarchus, the successor of Cleander as governor of Byzantium, met him at Cyzicus, and said that Polus, the successor of Anaxibius as admiral, was on the point of entering the Hellespont. 6. Anaxibius desired Aristarchus to sell all the soldiers of Cyrus, whom he should find remaining in Byzantium, as slaves. As for Cleander, he had sold none, but had even attended, from compassion, to such as were sick, and obliged the inhabitants to receive them into their houses; but Aristarchus, as soon as he arrived, sold not less than four hundred.

7. Anaxibius, when he had sailed along the coast as far as Parium, sent to Pharnabazus according to an agreement between them. But Pharnabazus, when he found that Aristarchus was going as governor to Byzantium, and that Anaxibius was no longer admiral, neglected Anaxibius, and entered into a negotiation with Aristarchus about the army of Cyrus, similar to that which he had previously made with Anaxibius.

8. Soon after, Anaxibius called Xenophon to him, and urged him, by every means and contrivance, to sail back to the army as soon as possible, to keep it together, to collect as many of the dispersed soldiers as he could, and then, leading them along the coast to Perinthus, to transport them without delay into Asia. He gave him, at the same time, a thirty-oared galley and a letter, and sent a man with him to tell the people of Perinthus to despatch Xenophon on horseback to the army as soon as possible. 9. Xenophon

then sailed across, and arrived at the army. The soldiers gladly welcomed him, and followed him at once with cheerfulness, in expectation of passing over from Thrace into Asia.

10. Seuthes, when he heard of his return, sent Medosades to him by sea, and begged him to bring the army to him, promising him whatever he thought likely to prevail on him. Xenophon told him in reply that nothing of the kind was possible; 11. and Medosades, on receiving this answer, went away.

When the Greeks came to Perinthus, Neon, drawing off from the rest, encamped apart with about eight hundred men. All the other troops remained together under the walls of Perinthus.

12. Xenophon was next engaged in getting vessels, in order that they might cross over to Asia as soon as possible. But just at this time Aristarchus the governor, instigated by Pharnabazus, came with two galleys from Byzantium, and forbade the masters of the ships to carry over the Greeks, and then, going to the army, desired the soldiers not to go across into Asia.

13. Xenophon told him that Anaxibius had ordered them to go, "and sent me hither," added he, "with that view." "Anaxibius," retorted Aristarchus, "is no longer admiral, and I am governor here; and if I find one of you on the sea, I will drown him." Having said this, he went off into the town.

14. Next day he sent for the generals and captains of the army; but, as they came up to the wall, somebody gave notice to Xenophon, that if he went in, he would be apprehended,

and either suffer some injury there, or be delivered to Pharnabazus. Hearing this, he sent the others on before, and said that he himself had a mind to offer sacrifice. 15. Returning, accordingly, he sacrificed to know whether the gods would permit him to attempt to lead the army to Seuthes, for he saw that it was not safe to cross over into Asia, as he who would hinder him had galleys at his command, nor was he willing to go to the Chersonesus and be shut up there, or that the army should be in great want of everything in a place where it would be necessary to obey the governor, and where the troops would be able to procure no supplies.

16. He was engaged about this matter, when the generals and captains returned from Aristarchus, and brought word that he had told them to go away for the present, and to come back to him in the evening. Hence his treacherous intentions became still more manifest. 17. Xenophon, therefore, as the sacrifices seemed favourable for himself and the army to go in security to Seuthes, took with him Polycrates the Athenian, one of the captains, and from each of the generals, except Neon, a person in whom they confided, and went in the night to the camp of Seuthes, a distance of sixty stadia. 18. As he drew near it, he met with several watch-fires without guards, and thought that Seuthes had decamped; but, hearing a noise, and the men about Seuthes making signals to one another, he understood that these fires had been kindled by Seuthes in front of the night-posts, in order that the sentinels, being in the dark, might not be

seen, or show how many or where they were, while those who approached might not be concealed, but be conspicuous in the light. 19. When he found that such was the case, he sent the interpreter whom he had with him, and told him to let Seuthes know that Xenophon was there, and desired a conference with him. They inquired if it was Xenophon the Athenian, from the Grecian army. 20. As he answered that it was he, they leaped upon their horses, and hastened off. A little after, about two hundred peltasts appeared, and conducted Xenophon and his party to Seuthes.

21. Seuthes was in a tower, strictly guarded, and round it stood horses ready bridled; for, through fear, he fed his horses during the day, and kept on guard with them bridled during the night. 22. For Teres, one of his ancestors, when he had once a large army in this country, was said to have lost great numbers of his men, and to have been stripped of his baggage by the natives, who are called Thynians, and are said to be the most formidable of all enemies, especially in the night.

23. When they approached, Seuthes gave notice that Xenophon, with any two of his attendants that he chose, might enter. As soon as they went in, they first saluted one another, and, according to the Thracian custom, drank to each other in horns full of wine; Medosades, who acted as the ambassador of Seuthes on all occasions, being present with him. 24. Xenophon then began to speak as follows. "You sent Medosades, who is present here, to me, O Seu-



thes, for the first time at Chalcedon, requesting me to join my efforts to yours that the army might cross over out of Asia, and, promising, as Medosades here said, that if I succeeded, you would do me some service in return." 25. When he had said this, he asked Medosades if it was true; and he said that it was. "When I had gone over again to the army from Parium, Medosades came to me a second time, assuring me, that if I would bring the army to you, you would not only treat me as a friend and a brother in other respects, but that the towns also along the sea, of which you are master, would be assigned to me from you." 26. He then again asked Medosades whether he said this, and Medosades acknowledged it. "Well then," said Xenophon, "tell Seuthes what answer I gave you, on the first occasion, at Chalcedon." 27. "You answered that the army was going to cross over to Byzantium, and that there would therefore be no occasion on that account to give anything either to you or to any other person; you added that, as soon as you had crossed, you would quit the army; and all took place as you said." 28. "And what did I say," continued Xenophon, "when you came to Selybria?" "You said that what I proposed was impracticable, but that the army was to go to Perinthus, and pass over into Asia." 29. "Well then," said Xenophon, "I am now present before you, with Phryniscus here, one of the generals, and Polycrates, one of the captains; and, without, are deputies from the other generals, the most confidential friends of each, except from Neon

the Lacedæmonian. 30. If you wish the business to have greater sanction, call them in also; and do you, Polycrates, go and tell them that I desire them to leave their arms outside; and do you leave your sword there, and come in again."

31. Seuthes, on hearing this, said that he would distrust no one of the Athenians, for he knew that they were connected with him by lineage, and regarded them as kind friends. Afterwards, when those who were wanted had come in, Xenophon first asked Seuthes what use he proposed to make of the army. 32. Seuthes then proceeded to speak thus: "Mæsades was my father; and under his government were the Melanditæ, the Thynians, and the Tranipsæ. But when the power of the Odrysæ declined, my father, being driven from this country, died of a disease, and I, being left an orphan, was bred up with Medocus, the present king. 33. As soon as I became a young man, however, I could not bear to subsist in dependence upon another person's table; and I sat on my seat before him as a suppliant that he would give me as many troops as he could, in order that, if I found it at all in my power, I might inflict some evil on those who had expelled us, and might cease to live by looking, like a dog, to his table. 34. In compliance with my request he gave me the infantry and cavalry which you will see as soon as it is day. I now subsist with the aid of these troops, making depredations on my own hereditary dominions; and if you join me, I should expect, with the assistance of the gods, to recover my authority with ease. This is what I desire of you."

35. "If we should come, then," said Xenophon, "what would you be able to give to the soldiers, captains, and generals? Let me know, that these who are with me may carry word to them." 36. Seuthes then promised to give every soldier a Cyzicene stater, twice as much to a captain, and four times as much to a general, with as much land as they should desire, yokes of oxen, and a walled town near the sea. 37. "But if," said Xenophon, "when we attempt this service, we should not succeed, but something to deter us should arise on the part of the Lacedæmonians, will you, if any of us should wish to take refuge with you, receive them into your country?" 38. "Nay more," replied he, "I will even treat them as brothers, make them guests at my own table, and sharers of all that we may be able to acquire. To you, Xenophon, I will give my daughter; and, if you have a daughter, I will buy her according to the Thracian custom, and will give you Bisanthe, which is the finest of my towns upon the sea, as a residence."

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### CHAPTER III.

All the Greeks, except Neon and his party, accept the proposals of Seuthes, and join him. They march with Seuthes against his enemies, whom they surprise unawares, and take a great number of slaves, and much spoil.

1. THE party having heard these offers, and having exchanged right hands, rode off. They got back to the camp before day-break, and made each his report to those who sent him. 2. As

soon as it was light, Aristarchus sent again for the generals and captains, but they determined to decline going to him, and to call together the army. All the troops came, except those of Neon, who were about ten stadia distant. 3. When they were met, Xenophon stood up and spoke as follows :

“Soldiers! Aristarchus, having galleys at command, seeks to prevent us sailing whither we desire; and in consequence it is not safe for us to embark. He would have us make our way by force over the Sacred Mountain into the Chersonesus; and, if we should succeed in crossing that mountain, and arrive there, he says that he will not again sell any of you, as he did at Byzantium, or deceive you again, but that you shall receive pay, and that he will no longer suffer you, as at present, to be in want of provisions. 4. Thus speaks Aristarchus. Seuthes, on the other hand, says that if you go to him, he will be of service to you. Consider, therefore, whether you will decide on this point while remaining here now, or after having gone back to get provisions. 5. My own opinion is, that since we have no money here to purchase, and since they will not allow us to take provisions without money, we should return to the villages where the inhabitants, being weaker than we are, permit us to take them, and that there, when we have got supplies, and heard what each of them desire of you, you may choose whatever may seem best. 6. To whomsoever this proposal is agreeable, let him hold up his hand.” They all held up their hands. “Go then,” continued he, “and prepare your

baggage, and when any one gives the signal, follow your leader."

7. Soon after Xenophon put himself at their head, and they followed him. Neon, however, and some other persons sent by Aristarchus, tried to persuade them to turn back; but they paid no regard to their words. When they had advanced about thirty stadia, Seuthes met them; and Xenophon, when he saw him, invited him to ride up, that he might state to him, in the hearing of as many as possible, what he thought for their advantage. 8. As he came forward, Xenophon said, "We are going to some place where the army will be likely to get provisions, and where, after hearing your proposals, and those of the Lacedæmonian, we shall determine upon that course which may seem best to us. If therefore you will conduct us to a place where provisions are in the greatest abundance, we shall consider ourselves as being your guests." 9. Seuthes replied, "I know of several villages lying close together, containing all sorts of provisions, and distant from us only so far that you may go over to them and dine in comfort." "Conduct us, then," said Xenophon.

10. When they had reached the villages, in the afternoon, the soldiers assembled, and Seuthes spoke thus: "I wish you, soldiers, to take service with me, and propose to give each of you a Cyzicene stater monthly, and the captains and generals what is customary. In addition to this, I will do honour to every man that proves himself worthy of it. Meat and drink you shall have, as at present, by taking it from the country; but

whatever spoil may be taken, I shall think proper to keep myself, that, by disposing of it, I may provide pay for you. 11. Such enemies as flee from us, and conceal themselves, we shall be able to pursue and discover; and such as resist us, we shall endeavour, with your assistance, to overcome." 12. Xenophon then inquired, "How far from the sea shall you require the army to follow you?" He replied, "Never more than seven days' march, and often less."

13. Liberty was then given to any one that wished, to speak; and many concurred in saying that Seuthes made proposals of the greatest advantage, as it was winter, and no longer practicable, even for such as desired, to sail home; and as it was impossible for them to live, though in a country of friends, if they were to subsist by purchasing, while it would be safer for them to remain and find subsistence in an enemy's country jointly with Seuthes than by themselves, so many advantages offering themselves, and if, in addition to these, they also received pay, it appeared to them an unexpected piece of good fortune. 14. Xenophon then said, "If any one has aught to say against this opinion, let him speak at once; if not, let him vote for it." As no one said anything against it, he put it to the vote, and the decision was in favour of it. Xenophon immediately told Seuthes that they would take the field with him.

15. The soldiers then pitched their tents according to their divisions; the generals and captains Seuthes, who occupied a neighbouring village, invited to supper. 16. When they were

at the entrance, going in to supper, a man named Heraclides, a native of Maronea, presented himself before them. This man, addressing himself to every one whom he thought possessed of anything to present to Seuthes, and first to certain people from Parium, who were come to establish a friendship with Medocus, king of the Odrysæ, and had brought presents for Seuthes and his wife, said that Medocus resided up the country, twelve days' journey from the sea, and that Seuthes, since he had taken this force into his service, would be master on the coast; 17. "being your neighbour therefore," he added, "he will be greatly in a condition to do you both good and harm; and, if you are wise, you will accordingly give him what you have brought, and it will be bestowed to better account than if you were to give it to Medocus, who lives at a distance." 18. By these arguments he prevailed upon them. Accosting, in the next place, Timasion the Dardanian, as he had heard that he had cups and Persian carpets, he observed that it was customary, whenever Seuthes invited people to supper, for those who were invited to make him presents; "and," said he, "if he becomes powerful in this country, he will be able either to restore you to yours, or to make you rich here." In this manner he sued for Seuthes, addressing himself to each of the guests. 19. Advancing also towards Xenophon, he said, "You are of a most honourable city, and your name stands very high with Seuthes; and perhaps you will desire to have some place of strength, and a portion of land, in this country, as others of your countrymen have.

It will be proper for you, therefore, to honour Seuthes most magnificently; 20. and I give you this advice as your well-wisher; for I know that the greater presents you make him, the greater benefits you will receive from him." Xenophon, on hearing this, was in some perplexity; for he had come over from Parium with only one servant and just enough money for the journey.

21. When the company went in to supper, consisting of the chief Thracians who were there, the generals and captains of the Greeks, and such ambassadors as had come from any city, the supper was prepared for them as they took their seats in a circle, and tables with three feet were then brought in for each. These tables were full of pieces of meat piled up, and large leavened loaves were attached to the meat. 22. The tables were always placed near the strangers in preference to others; for such was their custom. Seuthes then first proceeded to act as follows: taking up the loaves that were set by him, he broke them into small portions, and distributed to those whom he pleased, and the flesh in a similar way, leaving for himself only just sufficient to taste. 23. The rest of those, before whom tables were placed, followed his example. But a certain Arcadian, whose name was Arystas, an extraordinary eater, took no care about distributing, but taking in his hand a loaf of about three chœnices, and placing some meat upon his knees, went on with his supper. 24. In the mean time they carried round horns of wine, and everybody took some; but Arystas, when the cup-bearer came to him with the horn, and he observed that



Xenophon had finished his supper, said, "Give it to him, for he is now at leisure; I am not so yet." 25. Seuthes, hearing the voice, asked the cup-bearer what he said; and the cup-bearer (for he knew the Greek language) told him. A laugh in consequence followed.

26. As the cup made its way, a Thracian entered leading a white horse, and, taking up a horn full of wine, said, "I drink to you, O Seuthes, and present you with this horse, mounted on which, and pursuing whomsoever you please, you will overtake him, and, when retreating, you will have no cause to fear an enemy." 27. Another, bringing in a boy, presented him, drinking to Seuthes, in like manner, and another vestments for his wife. Timasion, drinking to him, made him a present of a silver cup, and a carpet worth ten minæ. 28. But one Gnesippus, an Athenian, rose up and said, that it was an excellent custom in old times, that those who had anything should give presents to the king to do him honour, and that the king should give to those who have nothing; I therefore beg something of you, that I may have something to present you, and to do you honour."

29. As for Xenophon, he was in doubt how to act, for he was seated, as a person held in honour, in the place next to Seuthes; and Heraclides now desired the cup-bearer to present him the horn. However he stood up boldly, (for he had by this time drunk rather copiously,) and, taking the horn, said, 30. "I present you, O Seuthes, myself, and these my comrades, to be your faithful friends, no one of them being reluctant, but

all desiring, even more than myself, to be your adherents. 31. They are now here before you, asking nothing else of you, but desiring to labour for you, expressing their willingness to incur dangers for your sake; with whose assistance, if the gods are favourable, you will recover, on the one hand, a large portion of country which was your father's, and, on the other, acquire some in addition; and you will also become master of many men and women, whom it will not be necessary to take by force, but they themselves will come to you with presents in their hands." 32. Seuthes then stood up and drank with him, and then joined with him in sprinkling what remained in the horn upon himself.

Soon after some people came in that played on horns, such as they make signals with, and trumpets made of raw ox-hides, blowing regular tunes, and as if they were playing on the *magadis*. 33. Seuthes himself rose up and uttered the war-cry, and sprang out of his place with the utmost agility, like a man guarding against a missile. Buffoons also entered.

34. When the sun was near setting, the Greeks rose, and said that it was time to place the guards for the night, and to give out the watch-word. They requested Seuthes, at the same time, to give orders that none of the Thracians should enter the Greek camp by night; "for," said they, "both your enemies are Thracians, and so are you, our friends." 35. As they were going out, Seuthes stood up, not at all like a man intoxicated, and, walking forth, and calling back the generals by themselves, said to them, "The

enemy, my friends, know nothing as yet of our alliance; if, then, we should march upon them before they are on their guard against a surprise, or are prepared to make any defence, we should be very likely to take both prisoners and booty."

36. The generals expressed their assent to what he said, and desired him to lead them. "Prepare yourselves then," he replied, "and wait for me, and, when the proper time comes, I will come to you, and, taking the peltasts and yourselves, will, with the aid of the gods, conduct you."

37. "Consider however," rejoined Xenophon, "whether, since we are to march in the night, the Greek practice is not preferable; for on the march, during the day, whatever part of the army be suitable for the ground, takes the lead, whether it be the heavy-armed men, or the peltasts, or the cavalry; but in the night it is the custom among the Greeks for the slowest part of the force to lead the way. 38. Thus the troops are least likely to be dispersed, and least in danger of straggling unobserved from one another; for bodies that have been separated often fall foul of each other, and both do and suffer injury unawares." 39. "You say well," replied Seuthes, "and I will conform to your custom; I will also provide you guides, some of the oldest men, best acquainted with the country; I will bring up the rear myself with the cavalry, and, if there be occasion, will soon come up to the front." For the watch-word they fixed upon MINERVA, on account of their relationship. After this conversation they went to rest.

40. When it was about midnight, Seuthes came

to them with his cavalry clad in their corslets, and his peltasts equipped with their arms. After he had appointed the guides, the heavy-armed men took the lead, the peltasts followed, and the cavalry formed the rear-guard. 41. As soon as it was day, Seuthes rode up to the front, and extolled the Greek custom, for he said that he himself, when marching in the night, though but with a small force, had often been separated, along with the cavalry, from the infantry; "but now," he added, "we all appear in a body at break of day, as we ought to be. But halt here, and take some rest, and I, after having taken a survey of the country, will return to you." 42. When he said this, he rode off over a hill, taking a particular road. Having come to some deep snow, he examined whether there were any footsteps of men on it, pointing either forward or the contrary way. But as he found the way untrodden, he soon came back, and said, 43. "All will be well, my friends, if the gods be but favourable; for we shall fall upon the inhabitants unawares. For my own part, I will lead the way with the cavalry, in order that, if we come in sight of any person, he may not run off and give notice to the enemy. Follow me; and, if you are left behind, keep in the track of the cavalry. When we have crossed these hills, we shall come to a number of well-stored villages."

44. When it was mid-day, he had already reached the summit, and, after taking a view of the villages, came riding back to the heavy-armed men, and said, "I will now send off the horse to gallop down into the plain, and the peltasts to

attack the villages. Follow therefore as fast as you can, that if any of the enemy offer resistance, you may give your support." 45. Xenophon, on hearing this, alighted from his horse. "Why do you alight," inquired Seuthes, "when it is necessary to make haste?" "I am sure," replied Xenophon, "that you do not want me only; and the heavy armed men will hasten on with greater speed and alacrity, if I lead them on foot." 46. Seuthes then rode off, and Timasion, with about forty of the Greek cavalry, went with him. Xenophon called on the most active men of each company, such as were under thirty years of age, to come forward, and, taking these, he hurried on, while Cleanor led up the rest of the Greeks. 47. When they came to the villages, Seuthes, riding up to Xenophon, with about fifty horse, said, "What you said, Xenophon, has happened; the inhabitants are captured; but my cavalry are gone off without a leader, pursuing the people some one way, some another; and I am afraid that the enemy, collecting in a body somewhere, may do us some mischief. It is necessary, too, that some of us should remain in the villages, for they are full of people." 48. "I then," said Xenophon, "with the force that I have, will possess myself of the heights; and do you, meanwhile, order Cleanor to extend his line along through the plain by the villages." When they had made this arrangement, about a thousand slaves, two thousand oxen, and ten thousand head of other cattle, were captured. They then took up their quarters there for the night.

## CHAPTER IV.

Seuthes burns the villages, and takes more spoil. The Greeks suffer from cold. The Barbarians, who had fled, come down from the mountains on pretence of wishing to make a truce; they thus reconnoitre the camp, and then attack the Greeks in the night, by whom they are repulsed; they make submission to Seuthes, and their lives are spared.

1. THE next day, Seuthes, having entirely burned the villages, and left not a single house standing, (in order to strike terror into the rest of the people, when they saw what they would suffer if they did not submit,) made a retreat.

2. The booty he sent Heraclides to sell at Perinthus, that pay might be raised for the soldiers. He himself and the Greeks encamped on the plain of the Thynians, who left their dwellings, and fled to the mountains.

3. There was now a great fall of snow, and such severe frost, that the water which the attendants brought in for dinner, and the wine in the vessels, were frozen, and the noses and ears of many of the Greeks were bitten off.

4. Hence it became evident why the Thracians wear the skins of foxes over their heads and ears, and coats that extend not only over their breasts, but round their thighs; and why, when on horseback, they wear wide garments, not cloaks, reaching down to their feet.

5. Seuthes, sending some of the prisoners to the mountains, made it known that if the inhabitants did not come down and submit to him, he would burn both their villages and their corn, and that they would then perish with hunger. In consequence the women, children, and old men

came down, but the younger sort encamped in the villages at the foot of the hills. 6. Seuthes, on receiving notice of their proceedings, desired Xenophon to take the youngest of the heavy-armed men, and to follow him. Starting, accordingly, in the night, they arrived at the villages by break of day. Most of the occupants fled, for the mountains were close at hand. All that Seuthes took, he put to the spear without mercy.

7. There was with him on this occasion one Episthenes, an Olynthian, a great lover of boys, who, seeing a handsome youth, just in his bloom, with a shield in his hand, about to be put to death, ran up to Xenophon, and begged him to intercede for so beautiful a young man. 8. Xenophon, going up to Seuthes, begged him not to kill the youth, and made him acquainted, at the same time, with the character of Episthenes, telling him that he once raised a company in which he made it his sole object that the men should be handsome; and that at the head of these he proved himself a man of valour. 9. Seuthes then put this question to Episthenes: "Would you be willing, Episthenes, to die for this youth?" Episthenes, stretching out his neck, replied, "Strike, if the youth desires it, and will feel grateful to me." 10. Seuthes next asked the youth whether he should kill Episthenes instead of him. The youth would not consent, but besought him to kill neither. Episthenes then embraced the youth, and said, "Now, Seuthes, you must fight with me for him; for I will not give up the youth." 11. Seuthes laughed, and did nothing further in the matter.

It was resolved by Seuthes that they should encamp where they were, in order that the people upon the mountains might not get subsistence from the villages. He himself, going down a little lower into the plain, pitched his camp there. Xenophon, with the select body of men, fixed himself in the village highest up under the hills. The rest of the Greeks took up their quarters close by, among the people called the mountain Thracians.

12. Not many days had elapsed, when the Thracians, coming down from the hills to Seuthes, made a treaty with him about a peace, and the giving of hostages. Xenophon, at the same time, went and told Seuthes that they were encamped in a dangerous place, and that the enemy were near at hand, and said that he would rather encamp in some secure post abroad, than in a sheltered position with the danger of being cut off. Seuthes bade him fear nothing, and pointed to the hostages then in his hands. 13. Some of the people from the mountains, too, came down and begged Xenophon to assist them in effecting a treaty. Xenophon assented, told them to keep up their spirits, and engaged that they should suffer no harm if they submitted to Seuthes. But they had come with this request only for the purpose of acting as spies.

14. These things took place during the day. In the course of the following night the Thracians came down from the hills and attacked them. Each master of a house acted as a leader, for it would have been difficult for them, under any other arrangement, to find the houses in the



villages in the dark, as they were surrounded with high palisades to secure the cattle. 15. When they came up to the door of each house, some hurled their spears in at them, others struck them with their clubs which they carried, they said, to knock off the heads of the spears, while others set fire to the buildings, and calling for Xenophon by name, bade him come forth and be put to death; or else they declared that he should be burned to ashes upon the spot. 16. The fire soon began to show itself through the roof, and Xenophon and his men were within, with their corslets on, and their shields, swords, and helmets in their hands, when Silanus, a native of Macestus, about eighteen years of age, blew a signal with the trumpet, and they immediately rushed out, with their swords drawn, as well as those from the neighbouring houses. 17. The Thracians at once took to flight, slinging their shields, as was their custom, over their shoulders; and some of them, as they were trying to leap over the palisades, were caught and suspended, their shields sticking fast among the stakes; some were killed through missing the outlets; and the Greeks drove the rest out of the village. 18. A party of the Thynians, however, came back under cover of the darkness, and hurled their javelins at some of the Greeks that were running past a burning house, taking aim out of the darkness at those who were in the light; they wounded Hieronymus a Euodean, and Theogenes a Locrian, both captains; but nobody was killed; though the clothes and baggage of some of them were burned. 19. Seuthes came to their relief

with seven horsemen, the first that he met, bringing with him the Thracian trumpeter; and, when he saw how matters stood, the trumpet, by his orders, continued to sound as long as he was on the march to give aid; so that this noise also contributed to strike terror into the enemy. When he came up, he congratulated the Greeks, and said that he had expected to find many of them killed.

20. Xenophon then requested Seuthes to give up the hostages to him, and to march with him, if he was willing, to the mountains; if not, to permit him to go himself. 21. The next day, accordingly, Seuthes gave him the hostages, (who were men of advanced age, the most considerable persons, as they said, among the mountaineers,) and joined him with his army. Seuthes had now a force three times as large as before; for many of the Odrysæ, on hearing what he was doing, had come down to take the field with him. 22. The Thynians, when they beheld from the mountains, so vast a force of heavy-armed men, pel-tasts, and cavalry, came down and besought him to make peace with them, engaging to serve him in every way, and requesting him to accept pledges from them. 23. Seuthes, calling in Xenophon, communicated to him what they said, and observed, at the same time, that he would not make peace, if Xenophon wished to take revenge on them for their attack. 24. Xenophon replied, "I consider myself sufficiently revenged, if these people, instead of remaining free, are to become slaves;" adding, however, that he advised him to take as hostages in future those who

had most power to harm him, and to let the old men stay at home. All the people in this part of the country accordingly submitted to Seuthes.

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## CHAPTER V.

The Greeks are not paid in full, yet continue to serve Seuthes ; the soldiers are dissatisfied, on this account, with Xenophon. Unfairness of Seuthes ; the expedition to Salmydessus.

1. THEY now crossed over to the Thracians above Byzantium, into what is called the Delta. This had not formed any part of the dominion of Mæsades, though it had belonged to Teres, a son of Odryses, some ancient king. 2. Here Heraclides met them with the price of the spoil.

Seuthes, selecting three pairs of mules, (for there were no more,) and others of oxen, sent for Xenophon and requested him to accept the first for himself, and to distribute the others among the generals and captains. 3. Xenophon replied, "For myself it will be sufficient to receive something another time ; give these to the generals and captains that have followed you in company with me." 4. Timasion the Dardanian then received one of the pairs, Cleanor the Orchomenian another, and Phryniscus the Achæan the third ; the pairs of oxen were divided among the captains. But Seuthes gave the army only twenty days' pay, though the month was expired ; for Heraclides said that he had been unable to sell any more. 5. Xenophon, being concerned at this deficiency, exclaimed,

with an imprecation, "You seem to me, Heraclides, not to have such care for the interests of Seuthes as you ought to have; for, if you had such care, you would have brought the full pay, even though you had borrowed money to make it up, or sold your own clothes, if you could not raise the sum by any other means."

6. At this reproach Heraclides was extremely vexed, and feared that he should be deprived of the friendship of Seuthes; and, from that day, in whatever way he could, he laboured to bring Xenophon into disgrace with Seuthes. 7. The soldiers, too, threw blame upon Xenophon because they did not receive their pay; and Seuthes was displeased with him because he was earnest in demanding it for them. 8. Until that time he had been constantly telling him that, when he arrived at the sea, he would put him in possession of Bisanthe, and Ganos, and Neontichos, but, after that period, he alluded to none of those places; for Heraclides had maliciously insinuated that it was not safe to intrust fortresses to a man at the head of an army.

9. Xenophon, in consequence, began to consider with himself what he ought to do about the expedition farther up the country. Heraclides, meantime, was thrusting the other generals upon Seuthes, and urging them to say that they could lead the army not less effectively than Xenophon; he assured them also that, in a few days, their full pay for two months should be given them, and recommended them to continue in the service of Seuthes. 10. To this Timasion replied, "For my part, even if five months' pay

were to be given me, I would not serve without Xenophon." Phryniscus and Cleanor expressed the same sentiments as Timasion.

11. Seuthes then blamed Heraclides for not calling in Xenophon with them; and they accordingly sent for him alone. But Xenophon, seeing that this was a trick of Heraclides, to render him unpopular with the rest of the generals, took with him, when he went, not only all the generals, but all the captains. 12. As they were all moved by the arguments of Seuthes, they joined him in an expedition, and proceeded through the country of the Thracians called Melinophagi, keeping the Euxine Sea on the right, to Salmydessus. Here many of the ships sailing into the Euxine are grounded and driven ashore; for a shoal there stretches far out into the sea. 13. The Thracians who live in those parts, set up pillars as boundaries, and each party plunder the wrecks stranded on their own portion of the coast; but for some time before they erected the pillars, it was said that they fell in great numbers by the hands of each other while engaged in plundering. 14. In this place were found couches, boxes, written books, and many other things, such as seamen carry in their wooden store-chests. Having subdued this people, they went back again. 15. Seuthes had now an army superior in number to that of the Greeks; for many more of the Odrysæ had come down to him, and others, as fast as they submitted, joined his force. They encamped in a plain above Selybria, at the distance of about thirty stadia from the sea. 16. No pay as yet appeared; the soldiers were

greatly dissatisfied with Xenophon; and Seuthes no longer treated him with familiarity, but, whenever he went to desire to speak with him, many engagements were pretended.

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## CHAPTER VI.

The Greeks are solicited by the Lacedæmonians to join them in a war with Tissaphernes, when a certain Arcadian brings a formal accusation against Xenophon; he defends himself, and is justified by others. He is requested by Seuthes to remain in his service with a thousand men, but resolves to depart.

1. AT this time, when two months had nearly expired, Charminus, a Lacedæmonian, and Polyonicus, came from Thibron, and stated that the Lacedæmonians had resolved to take the field against Tissaphernes, and that Thibron had set sail for the purpose of carrying on the war with him; adding that he was in want of this auxiliary force, and promised that a daric a month should be the pay for each common soldier, twice as much for the captains, and four times as much for the generals. 2. When these Lacedæmonians arrived, Heraclides, hearing that they were come for the army, remarked to Seuthes that it was a fortunate occurrence, "for the Lacedæmonians," said he, "are in want of the army, and you no longer require it; by resigning it, therefore, you will gratify them, and the soldiers will cease to ask you for pay, and will leave the country."

3. Seuthes, listening to these representations, desired him to bring the Lacedæmonians to him;

and as they told him that they were come for the army, he said that he would give it up, and was willing to be their friend and ally, and invited them to a banquet, at which he entertained them magnificently, but did not invite Xenophon, or any of the other generals. 4. The Lacedæmonians inquiring what sort of a person Xenophon was, he replied, that in other respects he was not a bad man, but that he was a great friend to the soldiers, "and on that account," added he, "it is the worse for him." "Does the man then," said they, "try to make himself popular with the soldiers?" "Certainly," replied Heraclides. 5. "Will he not then oppose us," said they, "respecting the removal of the army?" "But if you call the soldiers together," rejoined Heraclides, "and promise them pay, they will show little regard to him, and will hasten away with you." 6. "How, then," said they, "can they be assembled to hear us?" "To-morrow morning," answered Heraclides, "we will bring you to them, and I feel assured that, as soon as they see you, they will readily flock together." Thus ended that day.

7. Next morning Seuthes and Heraclides conducted the Lacedæmonians to the army, and the soldiers were called together. The Lacedæmonians then stated that it was resolved by their countrymen to go to war with Tissaphernes, "who," said they, "has injured you. If therefore you join with us, you will both revenge yourselves on an enemy, and will receive, each of you, a daric a month, a captain double, and a general fourfold." 8. The soldiers listened to

this offer with pleasure; and one of the Arcadians immediately rose up to make an accusation against Xenophon. Seuthes was also present, being desirous to know how the matter would end, and was standing where he could easily hear, attended by an interpreter, though he himself understood most of what was spoken in Greek. 9. The Arcadian proceeded to say, "We should certainly, O Lacedæmonians, have been with you long ago, if Xenophon had not wrought upon us and led us hither, where, serving through a severe winter, we have had no rest night or day; while he has the fruit of our labours, and Seuthes enriches him personally, and deprives us of our pay; 10. so that if I, who am the first to speak on this occasion, could see him stoned to death, and paying the penalty for what he has made us suffer in dragging us about, I should think that I had received my pay, and should cease to be concerned at what I have undergone." After him another stood up, and then another; when Xenophon proceeded to speak as follows:

11. "A man may well, indeed, expect any kind of fate, since I now meet with accusations from you, at a time when I am conscious of having displayed the utmost zeal to serve you. After I had set out homewards, I turned back, not certainly from learning that you were in a satisfactory condition, but rather from hearing that you were in difficulties, and with the intention of aiding you if I could. 12. When I got back to the army, though Seuthes here sent many messengers to me, and promised me many advan-



tages, if I would induce you to go to him, I made no attempt, as you yourselves know, to do so, but led you to a place from which I thought you would have the quickest passage into Asia; for I considered that this course would be best for you, and knew that you desired it. 13. But when Aristarchus came with his galleys, and prevented you from sailing across, I then (as was doubtless proper) called you together, that we might consider what measures we ought to take. 14. After hearing then Aristarchus, on the one hand, desiring you to go to the Chersonesus, and listening to Seuthes, on the other, urging you to take the field with him, you all said that you would go with Seuthes, and all gave your votes for that course. In what respect then did I wrong you on that occasion, by leading you whither you all resolved to go?

15. "Since Seuthes, however, has begun to break his word concerning your pay, you, if I were to express approbation of his conduct, would justly accuse and detest me; but if I, who was previously his greatest friend, am now most of all men at variance with him, with what reason can I, who have preferred your interest to that of Seuthes, incur censure from you for that very conduct through which I have brought upon me his enmity? 16. But perhaps you may say that I have received your pay from Seuthes, and am merely deluding you. This however is certain, that if Seuthes has paid me anything, he did not pay it with a view of losing what he gave me, and of paying, at the same time, an additional sum to you; but, I should think, if he had given

me anything, he would have given it with this intention, that by bestowing on me a less sum, he might not have to pay you a greater. 17. If therefore you suppose that such is the case, it is in your power to render the compact profitless to both of us, by requiring from him your pay; for it is evident that Seuthes, if I have received anything from him, will in that case demand it back from me, and will demand it justly, if I fail to fulfil the contract for which I was bribed? 18. But I am conscious of being far from possessing anything that belongs to you; for I swear to you by all the gods and goddesses, that I have not even received what Seuthes promised me for myself; and he is himself present, and as he hears me, knows whether I commit perjury or not; 19. and, that you may be still more surprised, I swear that I have not even received as much as the other generals have received, no, nor even as much as some of the captains. 20. From what motive, then, did I act thus? I thought, my fellow-soldiers, that the more I participated in his poverty for the time, the more effectually should I render him my friend when he should be able to serve me. But I now see him at once in a state of prosperity, and understand his real disposition. 21. Possibly some one may say, 'Are you not ashamed, then, of having been thus foolishly deceived?' I should indeed be ashamed, if I had been thus deceived by an enemy, but in a friend it appears far more disgraceful to deceive than to be deceived. 22. If however we are to be on our guard against friends, I know that we have been on the strictest guard not to give

Seuthes any just pretence for refusing to pay us what he promised ; for we have neither done him any harm, nor neglected his interests, nor shrunk from any undertaking to which he called us.

23. " But, you may say, I ought to have taken pledges at the time, that even if he had had the will, he might not have had the power to deceive. With regard to this point, hear what I should never have mentioned before him, if you had not shown yourselves either extremely inconsiderate or extremely ungrateful towards me. 24. For recollect in what circumstances you were placed, when I extricated you from them by conducting you to Seuthes. Did not Aristarchus the Lacedæmonian prevent you from entering Perinthus, shutting the gates if you offered to approach the city? Did you not encamp without the walls in the open air? Was it not the middle of winter? Had you not to buy provisions, when you found but few commodities for sale, and had but little with which to buy? 25. Were you not obliged to remain in Thrace, because galleys at anchor prevented you from sailing across, while, whoever stayed, had to stay in an enemy's country, where there were numbers of cavalry and numbers of peltasts to oppose you? 26. And though we had a heavy-armed force, with which, going to the villages in a body, we might perhaps have procured a moderate supply of food, we had no troops with which we could pursue or capture slaves or cattle ; for I found neither cavalry nor peltasts any longer existing in a body among you. 27. If, then, when you were in such straits, I had, without demanding any pay for you, pro-

cured you Seuthes as an ally, who had cavalry and peltasts, of which you were in want, should I have appeared to have consulted ill for you? 28. For, through having the aid of these troops, you not only found a greater abundance of provisions in the villages, from the Thracians being obliged to flee with greater precipitation, but had a greater share of both cattle and slaves. 29. As for enemies, we no longer saw any after the cavalry was attached to us, though, before that time, they pursued us both with horse and peltasts, hindering us from dispersing anywhere in small parties, so as to get provisions in greater quantities. 30. And if he who afforded you this security, did not give you, in addition, very high pay for the security, is this the dreadful calamity of which you complain, and do you think that, on this account, you ought by no means to allow me to live?

31. "But under what circumstances is it that you are now leaving the country? Is it not after having passed the winter in the midst of abundance, and while you have in your possession, besides, whatever you have received from Seuthes? What you have consumed belonged to the enemy; and, while faring thus, you have neither seen any of your number killed, nor lost any alive. 32. If any reputation had been gained by you against the Barbarians in Asia, have you not that still undiminished, and have you not added to it new glory by subduing the Thracians, against whom you took the field, in Europe? I think, indeed, that you may justly return thanks to the gods, as for so many blessings, for those

very things from which you are incensed against me.

33. "Such is the state of your affairs ; and now, in the name of the gods, consider what is the condition of mine. When I first set sail for home, I went off with great praise from you, and with honour, through your means, from the rest of the Greeks. I was also trusted by the Lacedæmonians, or they would not have sent me back to you. 34. But now I go away calumniated in the eyes of the Lacedæmonians by your statements, and at enmity with Seuthes upon your account, whom I hoped, by serving him in conjunction with you, to secure as an honourable protector both for myself and my children, if I should have any. 35. Yet you, for whose sake chiefly I have incurred hatred, and incurred it from people far more powerful than myself, and while I do not yet cease attempting whatever good I can for you, entertain such an opinion of me as you now express. 36. But you have me in your power, having neither found me fleeing nor attempting to flee ; and, if you do what you say, you will put to death a man who has often watched for your safety ; who has gone through many toils and dangers in company with you, according to his share and beyond his share ; who, by the favour of the gods, has raised with you many trophies over the Barbarians ; and who has exerted himself most strenuously for you, in every way that he could, in order that you might not make yourselves enemies to any of the Greeks. 37. As it is, you are at liberty to go whither you please, by sea or land, without censure ; and now

when abundance of everything presents itself before you, when you are going to sail whither you have long desired to go, when those who are at the height of power solicit your services, when pay is offered, and when Lacedæmonians, who are thought to be the best of leaders, are come to take the command of you, does it seem to you to be a fit time for putting me at once to death? 38. You had no such inclination when we were in the midst of hardships, O men of admirable memories! You then called me father, and promised always to remember me as your benefactor. However, those, who are now come to request your services, are not void of judgment, so that, as I think, you will not, by being such as you are towards me, appear better in their estimation." Having spoken thus, he ceased.

39. Charminus, the Lacedæmonian, then stood up and said, "By the twin gods, soldiers, you do not appear to be displeased with this man on any reasonable grounds; for I myself can bear testimony in his favour: since, when Polynicus and myself asked Seuthes about Xenophon, inquiring what sort of man he was, he had nothing else to lay to his charge, but, as he said, that he was a great friend to the soldiers, on which account, he observed, it was worse for him both with us Lacedæmonians and with himself." 40. Eurylochus an Arcadian, a native of Lusia, rising up after him, exclaimed, "It seems to me, Lacedæmonians, that your first act of generalship for us should be this, to exact our pay from Seuthes, either with his consent or against it, and that, till you do so, you ought not to lead us from hence."

41. Polycrates, the Athenian, next rose and spoke in favour of Xenophon: "I see," said he, "soldiers, Heraclides also present here, who, after receiving the spoil which we obtained by our exertions, and having sold it, gave the proceeds neither to Seuthes nor to us, but, having appropriated it to himself, still keeps possession of it. If therefore we are wise, we shall lay hold of him, for he is not a Thracian, but, being himself a Greek, acts dishonestly to Greeks."

42. Heraclides, on hearing this remark, was still more alarmed, and, moving towards Seuthes, said, "If we are wise, we shall withdraw from hence, out of the power of these men." Mounting their horses, accordingly, they rode off to their own camp; 43. from whence Seuthes sent Abrozemes, his interpreter, to Xenophon, and begged him to remain in his service with a thousand heavy-armed men, engaging at the same time, to give him the fortresses on the sea, and the other things which he had promised him. He also told him, causing it to be communicated as a secret, that he had heard from Polynicus, that if he fell into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, he would certainly be put to death by Thibron.

44. Many other persons, too, sent notice to Xenophon that he had been made an object of calumny, and ought to be upon his guard. Xenophon, on receiving these communications, took two victims and sacrificed to Jupiter; consulting him whether it would be better for him to stay with Seuthes on the conditions that he proposed, or to go away with the army. Jupiter signified to him that he had better depart.

## CHAPTER VII.

The Greeks go to get provisions from the villages. Medosades tries to send them away, and prevails on Xenophon to go and consult the Lacedæmonians. The Lacedæmonians refuse to take away the army till Seuthes has paid them. Xenophon's speech to Seuthes. Seuthes at last produces the money, which Xenophon gives to the Lacedæmonians to be distributed among the soldiers.

1. SEUTHES then encamped at a great distance; and the Greeks quartered in villages from which they intended to get plenty of provisions, and then to march to the sea. These villages had been given by Seuthes to Medosades; 2. who, seeing his property in them consumed by the Greeks, was much displeased; and, taking with him one of the Odrysæ, the most influential of all those that had come down from the upper country, and about fifty horse, went and called Xenophon out of the Grecian camp. Xenophon, taking some of the captains, and other proper persons, came out to meet him. 3. Medosades then said, "You act unjustly, O Xenophon, in laying waste our villages. We give you notice therefore, I on the part of Seuthes, and this man on the part of Medocus the king of the upper country, to quit this district; if, however, you do not quit it, we shall not allow you to continue your depredations, but, if you do harm to our territories, we shall defend ourselves against you as enemies."

4. Xenophon, on hearing this warning, said, "To give you an answer, when you speak in such terms, is painful, yet for the information of this young man, I will reply to you, that he may



know what sort of people you are, and what sort we are. 5. We," he continued, "before we became your allies, marched through this country whithersoever we thought fit, laying waste what we pleased, and burning what we pleased; 6. and you yourself, when you came to us as an ambassador, pitched your tent with us, without fear of any enemy; but your people never entered this region at all, or, if ever you did venture into it, used to encamp with your horses still bridled, as in the territory of those more powerful than yourselves. 7. But now, since you have become allied with us, and have by our means, and with the assistance of the gods, got possession of the country, you would drive us from that very land which you received from us, when we held it as our own by force of arms, for, as you are aware, the enemy were not strong enough to dispossess us. 8. And you would send us away, not only without offering us a present, or doing us any service in return for the benefits that you have received from us, but even without allowing us to encamp, as far as you are able to prevent us, when we are just taking our departure. 9. In addressing us thus, you show no respect either for the gods or for the man that accompanies you, who beholds you now abounding in wealth, but who saw you, before you were our ally, supporting your existence by plunder, as you yourself have acknowledged. 10. But why do you address yourself thus to me," added Xenophon, "for I no longer hold the command, but the Lacedæmonians, to whom you gave the army that they might lead it away, and gave it, O most

admirable of men, without calling on me to take part in the resignation of it, so that, as I incurred their disapprobation when I brought it to you, I might now do them a pleasure by restoring it to them."

11. When the Odrysian heard this account, he said, "I, O Medosades, am ready to sink into the earth with shame, as I listen to such a statement. Had I known this before, I should certainly not have accompanied you, and shall now take my departure; for Medocus, my king, would by no means approve my conduct, if I should assist in expelling his benefactors from the country."

12. As he uttered these words, he mounted his horse and rode off, and all the other horsemen went with him, except four or five. But Medosades (for the devastation of the country made him uneasy) requested Xenophon to call to him the two Lacedæmonians. 13. Xenophon, taking the most eligible persons to attend him, went to Charminus and Polynicus, and told them that Medosades wished to speak with them, intending to warn them, as they had warned him, to quit the country. 14. "I think, therefore," continued Xenophon, "that you might secure the pay owing to the army, if you were to say that the troops have entreated you to support them in obtaining their dues from Seuthes, whether with his consent or without it; that they engage to follow you cheerfully if they gain their object; that they appear to you to say what is just; and that you have promised them not to depart until they have received their just demands." 15. The Lacedæmonians replied that they would say this,

and whatever else they might be able to urge with the greatest effect; and immediately set out, with all proper persons accompanying them.

When they arrived, Charminus said, "If you have anything to say to us, Medosades, speak; if not, we have something to say to you." 16. Medosades replied, very submissively, "I have to say, and Seuthes says the same, that we desire that those who have become our friends may suffer no evil at your hands; for whatever harm you do to them, you do at the same time to us, as they are our allies." 17. "We, then," said the Lacedæmonians, "shall be ready to depart, when those who have effected such services for you, have received their pay; if they do not receive it, we are here even now to take their part, and to take vengeance on such as have wronged them in violation of their oaths. If you are of that number, it is from you that we shall begin to require justice for them." 18. "Would you be willing, Medosades," rejoined Xenophon, "to leave it to the people in whose country we are, (as you say that they are your friends,) to decide whether it is fit that you should quit the country, or we?" 19. To this proposal he would not consent, but urged the two Lacedæmonians by all means to go to Seuthes about the pay, and said that he thought they would succeed with Seuthes; if they did not, he requested them to send Xenophon with him, and promised to support their application. In the mean time he begged them not to burn the villages.

20. They then deputed Xenophon, and those who appeared most eligible along with him.

When he came to Seuthes, he said, "I am not come, O Seuthes, to ask anything of you, but to convince you, if I am able, 21. that you had no just cause to be displeased with me for demanding, on behalf of the soldiers, the pay which you so readily promised them; since I thought it would be not less advantageous for you to pay it than for them to receive it; 22. for I knew that, next to the gods, they have been instrumental in placing you in a conspicuous position, by making you king over a large extent of country and great numbers of people, so that it is not possible for you to escape the notice of mankind, whether you do what is good or what is evil. 23. To a man in such a condition it seems to me to be of no small importance that he should not be thought to send away his benefactors without gratitude; of importance also to have the approbation of six thousand men; and most important of all to show that you are never to be distrusted in what you say. 24. For I observe the words of the faithless wander about without power, influence, or regard; while the words of those who are known to observe truth, are not less effectual, if they desire anything, in accomplishing their desire, than the strength of other men; if they wish to recall any one to his duty, I know that the threats of such men are not less influential in producing reform than the actual punishments of others; and if men of such a character promise anything, they produce no less effect by their promises than others by giving at the moment. 25. Consider with yourself: what did you pay us before you obtained our alliance?

You know that you paid us nothing; but from confidence being placed in you that you would truly perform what you said, you induced such a number of men to join you in the field, and to conquer for you a kingdom not worth fifty talents merely, the sum which they now think they ought to receive from you, but many times that sum. 26. First of all, then, this confidence which was placed in you, and which secured you the kingdom, is bartered away by you for this sum of money.

27. "Consider, too, how great a matter you then thought it to obtain those dominions which you have now subjugated and possess. I am well aware that you would have prayed for the accomplishment of what has now been done for you rather than for many times such a sum of money. 28. To me, then, it seems a greater disadvantage, as well as a greater disgrace, not to retain this power than not to have acquired it; just as it is more grievous to a man to become poor after being rich than never to have been rich at all, and as it is more afflicting to appear as a private man after having been a king, than never to have been on a throne. 29. You are sensible, moreover, that those who have now become your subjects, have not submitted to be governed by you from any affection for you personally, but from necessity, and that they would endeavour to make themselves free again, if there were no fear to restrain them. 30. Whether therefore do you think that they will be more under the restraint of fear, and act more sensibly for your interests, if they should see these troops

so disposed towards you, as to be willing to stay now if you request them, or soon to return again if it should be necessary, and find that others, hearing many good accounts of you from these, are ready to join you at once whenever you wish; or if they should form an unfavourable opinion of you, and believe that no others will engage in your service through distrust arising from what has now happened, and that the Greeks are better affected towards your new subjects than yourself? 31. These people, besides, did not submit to you because they were inferior in number to us, but because they wanted leaders. It is now a matter of apprehension, then, that they may choose some of our men, who think themselves wronged by you, or the Lacedæmonians, who are still more powerful than they, as leaders, especially if, on the one hand, our soldiers promise to serve the Lacedæmonians with greater alacrity, on condition that they exact what is due to them from you, and the Lacedæmonians, on the other, assent to this condition from the need which they have of our army. 32. That the Thracians who have just become subject to you, would march against you much more willingly than with you, is indisputable; for, while you hold the mastery, servitude is their lot, but, if you are conquered, freedom.

33. "If, again, it be your business to take forethought for the country, as being your own property, whether you do think that it would be less exposed to harm, if these soldiers, after having received from you what they claim, should go away leaving peace behind them, or if they

stay in the country as in that of an enemy, and you, with other soldiers more numerous than they, who will be constantly in want of provisions, proceed to take the field against them?

34. Or whether will more money be expended by you, if what is due to the Greeks be paid, or if this be left due, and you have at the same time to take other troops, able to overcome them, into your service?

35. "But this sum, in the opinion of Heraclides, (as he expressed himself to me,) appears excessively large. It is doubtless, however, a much lighter matter for you either to receive or pay such a sum, than it was, before we joined you, to receive or pay the tenth part of it. 36. For it is not the actual amount that defines the much or the little, but the ability of him who has to pay or to receive. But your annual income is now greater than the whole of the property which you formerly possessed.

37. "In these observations, O Seuthes, I have had regard to your interest as to that of a friend, in order that you may appear worthy of the advantages which the gods have bestowed upon you, and that I, at the same time, may not lose all reputation with the army. 38. For be assured, that if I now wished to do harm to an enemy, I should not be able to effect it with these troops, and that, if I desired again to give assistance to you, I should not be in a condition to do so; such is the feeling of the army towards me. 39. Yet I call both you yourself, and the gods who know the truth, to witness, that I have neither received anything from you on account

of the soldiers, nor have I ever asked of you, for my own private use, what was due to them, nor have I claimed what you promised me. 40. I also swear to you, that, even though you had offered to pay me, I would not have received anything from you, unless the soldiers had been at the same time to receive what was due to them; for it would have been disgraceful in me to have settled my own business, and to have allowed theirs to continue in an unsatisfactory condition, especially when I had received honour from them.

41. "To Heraclides, however, everything seems a trifle, in comparison with the acquirement of money by whatever means. But I, O Seuthes, think no possession more honourable or more glorious to a man than that of virtue, and justice, and generosity. 42. He that has these qualities, is rich in the numerous friends that he has, and rich in the good-will of numbers that wish to become his friends; if he is prosperous, he has associates ready to rejoice with him; if he meets with a reverse of fortune, he is not in want of people to lend him aid.

43. "If you have neither understood from my actions that I am a friend to you at heart, nor are able to discover it from my words, yet consider, by all means, the expressions of the soldiers concerning me; for you were present and heard what those said who sought to asperse me. 44. They accused me to the Lacedæmonians of regarding you more than them; they also charged me with taking more care that your affairs might prosper than their own; and they added, that I had received presents from you.



45. Whether, then, do you think that they accused me of having received those presents from you, because they saw in me some ill-will towards you, or because they observed in me a great zeal for your good? 46. I consider, indeed, that all men are of opinion that gratitude ought to be cherished towards him from whom they have received favours. You, before I did you any service, entertained me favourably with looks, and words, and demonstrations of hospitality, and were never satisfied with promising how great rewards should be mine; and now, when you have accomplished what you desired, and have become as great as I could assist you to become, have you the heart to allow me to be thus dishonoured among the soldiers? 47. I have nevertheless confidence that time will yet teach you to resolve to pay, and that you, of yourself, will not endure to see those who freely did you service, loading you with reproaches. I entreat you, then, when you make the payment, to study to leave me in as much credit with the army as you found me."

48. Seuthes, on hearing this address, uttered imprecations on the man who had been the cause that the debt was not discharged long before; (and every one surmised that Heraclides was meant;) "for," said he, "I never meant to deprive the men of their pay, and will now give it to them." 49. Xenophon then said again, "Since therefore you are resolved to pay, I now beg you to make the payment through me, and not to suffer me, on your account, to bear a different character with the army from that

which I bore when we came to you." 50. Seuthes replied, "You shall not lose more credit with the army by my means; and if you will stay with me with only a thousand heavy-armed men, I will give you the fortresses, and everything else that I promised." 51. "It cannot be so," rejoined Xenophon; "let us therefore depart." "Yet I know," replied Seuthes, "that it will be safer for you to remain with me than to go away." 52. "I commend your care of me," rejoined Xenophon, "but it is impossible for me to stay; yet be assured that wherever I receive greater honour, there will be good attendant on it for you." 53. Seuthes then said, "I have but very little money, and that I give you, one talent; but I have six hundred oxen, four thousand sheep, and a hundred and twenty slaves; take these, and the hostages from those who were treacherous to you, and depart." 54. "And if these," said Xenophon, laughing, "are not sufficient to make up the pay, for whom shall I say that I have the talent? Will it not be better for me, since danger threatens me, to secure myself against stoning by taking my departure? You heard the threats." The remainder of that day they continued there.

55. The next day Seuthes delivered to them the cattle he had promised, and sent men with them to drive them. The soldiers, in the mean time, began to say that Xenophon was gone to Seuthes to live with him, and to receive what Seuthes had promised him; but when they saw him returning, they were rejoiced, and ran to meet him. 56. As soon as Xenophon saw Char-

minus and Polynicus, he said, "This property has been saved for the army through your influence; I deliver it to you; dispose of it, and divide the proceeds among the soldiers." The Lacedæmonians accordingly received the cattle, and, appointing salesmen, sold it, and incurred much blame. 57. As for Xenophon, he took no part in the proceeding, but openly prepared to return home; for a vote of banishment had not yet been passed against him at Athens. But his friends in the camp came to him, and begged him not to desert them until he had led off the army and delivered it to Thibron.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

The Greeks pass over to Lampsacus. Xenophon, having received no pay, is obliged to sell his horse. He sacrifices to Jupiter Meilichius. The Greeks arrive at Pergamus. Xenophon is prevailed upon to attack Asidates, a Persian nobleman, and at length takes him prisoner, with a great quantity of booty, of which he receives a considerable share. He delivers the army into the hands of Thibron, to be incorporated with the forces assembled against Tissaphernes.

1. FROM hence they sailed across to Lampsacus, when Euclides the augur, a native of Phlius, the son of Cleagoras, who wrote *THE DREAMS IN THE LYCEUM*, came to meet Xenophon. He congratulated Xenophon on having returned safe, and asked him how much gold he had. 2. Xenophon assured him, with an oath, that he should not have enough for his expenses in travelling home, unless he sold his horse, and what he had about him. Euclides did not believe him. 3. But after the people of Lamp-

sacus had sent presents to Xenophon, and Xenophon was proceeding to sacrifice to Apollo, he made Euclides stand beside him at the time, who, on inspecting the victims, said that he was now convinced he had no money. "But I observe," added he, "that even if money should ever be likely to come to you, there will be some obstacle, and, if no other, that you will be an obstacle to yourself." Xenophon assented to the justice of the observation. 4. "Jupiter Meilichius, however," said Euclides, "is an obstacle in your way;" and then asked whether he had ever sacrificed to that god, "as I was accustomed," continued he, "to sacrifice and offer holocausts for you at home." Xenophon replied, that since he had left home he had not sacrificed to that deity. Euclides then advised him to sacrifice as he had been used to do, and said that it would be for his advantage. 5. Next day, Xenophon, going on to Ophrynum, offered a sacrifice, burning whole hogs after the custom of his country, and found the omens favourable.

6. The same day Biton and Euclides came to bring pay for the army. These men were hospitably entertained by Xenophon, and having repurchased his horse, which he had sold at Lampsacus for fifty darics, (as they suspected that he had parted with it from necessity, for they had heard that he was fond of the horse,) they restored it to him, and would not receive from him the price of it.

7. Hence they advanced through Troas, and, passing over Ida, came first to Antandrus; then, proceeding along by the sea, they arrived at the

plain of Thebe in Lydia. 8. Marching from hence through Atramyttium and Certorium, by Atarneus, to the plain of the Caicus, they reached Pergamus in Mysia.

Here Xenophon was hospitably received by Hellas the wife of Gongylus of Eretria, and mother of Gorgion and Gongylus. 9. She told him that Asidates, a Persian, resided in the plain, and said that if he would attack him in the night with three hundred men, he might take him, with his wife and children, and his wealth, which was considerable. 10. To guide him in the enterprise she sent her own cousin, and a man named Daphnagoras, whom she greatly esteemed; and Xenophon, having these with him, offered sacrifice. Basias, an augur from Elis, who was present, said that the omens were extremely favourable, and that the man might easily be captured. 11. After supper, accordingly, he set out, taking with him such of the captains as were most attached to him, and had constantly been his friends, in order that he might do them a service. Others also came to join the party, forcing themselves upon him, to the number of six hundred; but the captains sent them back, that they might not have to give them any portion of the booty, which they regarded as ready to their hands.

12. When they came to the place, about midnight, the slaves that were about the castle, and the greater part of the cattle, escaped them, as they neglected these in order that they might capture Asidates himself and his riches. 13. But as they were unable to take the building by assault, (for it was high and large, and had

battlements, and many brave men to defend it,) they proceeded to dig a passage into it. 14. The wall was eight bricks of earth thick; but a breach was made in it by day-break; and the moment an opening appeared, some one from within pierced the thigh of the man that was nearest him through with an ox-spit; and afterwards, by shooting showers of arrows, they rendered it unsafe even to approach. 15. As they uttered loud cries, too, and made signals with torches, Itabelius, with his force, came to their assistance, as well as some Assyrian heavy-armed men, and about eighty Hyrcanian cavalry, who were in the king's pay, from Comania; and other troops, lightly armed, to the number of eight hundred, with cavalry, some from Parthenium, and others from Apollonia and the neighbouring parts.

16. It was now time for the Greeks to consider how they should retreat; and, taking what oxen and sheep were at hand, they drove them off, placing them with the slaves, within a hollow square, not so much because they were anxious about the booty, but lest, if they went off and left it, their retreat might appear like a flight, and the enemy might thus be rendered bolder, and their own men more dispirited; whereas they now retired as if resolved to defend their capture. 17. But when Gongylus observed that the Greeks were but few, and those who hung upon their rear were numerous, he sallied forth himself, against the will of his mother, at the head of his own force, wishing to take a share in the action; Procles also, and Teuthranias, a de-

scendant of Damaratus, came to his support from Halisarne. 18. Xenophon and his party, as they were sorely harassed by the enemy's arrows and slings, and as they marched in a circle to hold their shields as a defence against the missiles, got with great difficulty across the river Caicus, nearly half of them being wounded. 19. On this occasion Agasias the Stymphalian, one of the captains, was wounded, after making head the whole time against the enemy. But they at last came off safe, with about two hundred slaves, and cattle enough for sacrifice.

20. On the following day Xenophon offered sacrifice, and led out his whole force in the night, with a design to go as far as possible into Lydia, in order that the Persian might not be in fear from his proximity, but be thrown off his guard. 21. But Asidates, hearing that Xenophon had again sacrificed with a view to an attack upon him, and that he would return with all his strength, went out to encamp in some villages lying close under the little town of Parthenium. 22. Here Xenophon and his troop came round upon him, and captured himself, his wife and children, his horses, and all his property; and thus the omens of the first sacrifice were verified.

23. They then marched back to Pergamus; and here Xenophon had no cause to complain of the god; for the Lacedæmonians, the captains, the rest of the generals, and the soldiers, all agreed that he should receive select portions of the spoil, consisting of horses, oxen, and other things; so that he was now able even to serve a friend.

24. Soon after, Thibron arrived and took charge of the army, and, uniting it with the rest of the Greek force, proceeded to make war upon Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus.

25. The governors of the king's country, as much of it as we went through, were these: of Lydia, Artēmas; of Phrygia, Artacamas; of Lycaonia and Cappadocia, Mithridates; of Cilicia, Syennesis; of Phœnicia and Arabia, Dernes; of Syria and Assyria, Belesys; of Babylon, Rhoparas; of Media, Arbacas; of the Phasiani and Hesperitæ, Tiribazus; (the Carduchi, the Chalybes, the Chaldæans, the Macro-nes, the Colchians, the Mossynœci, the Cœtæ, and the Tibareni, were independent nations;) of Paphlagonia, Corylas; of the Bithynians, Pharnabazus; and of the Thracians in Europe, Seuthes.

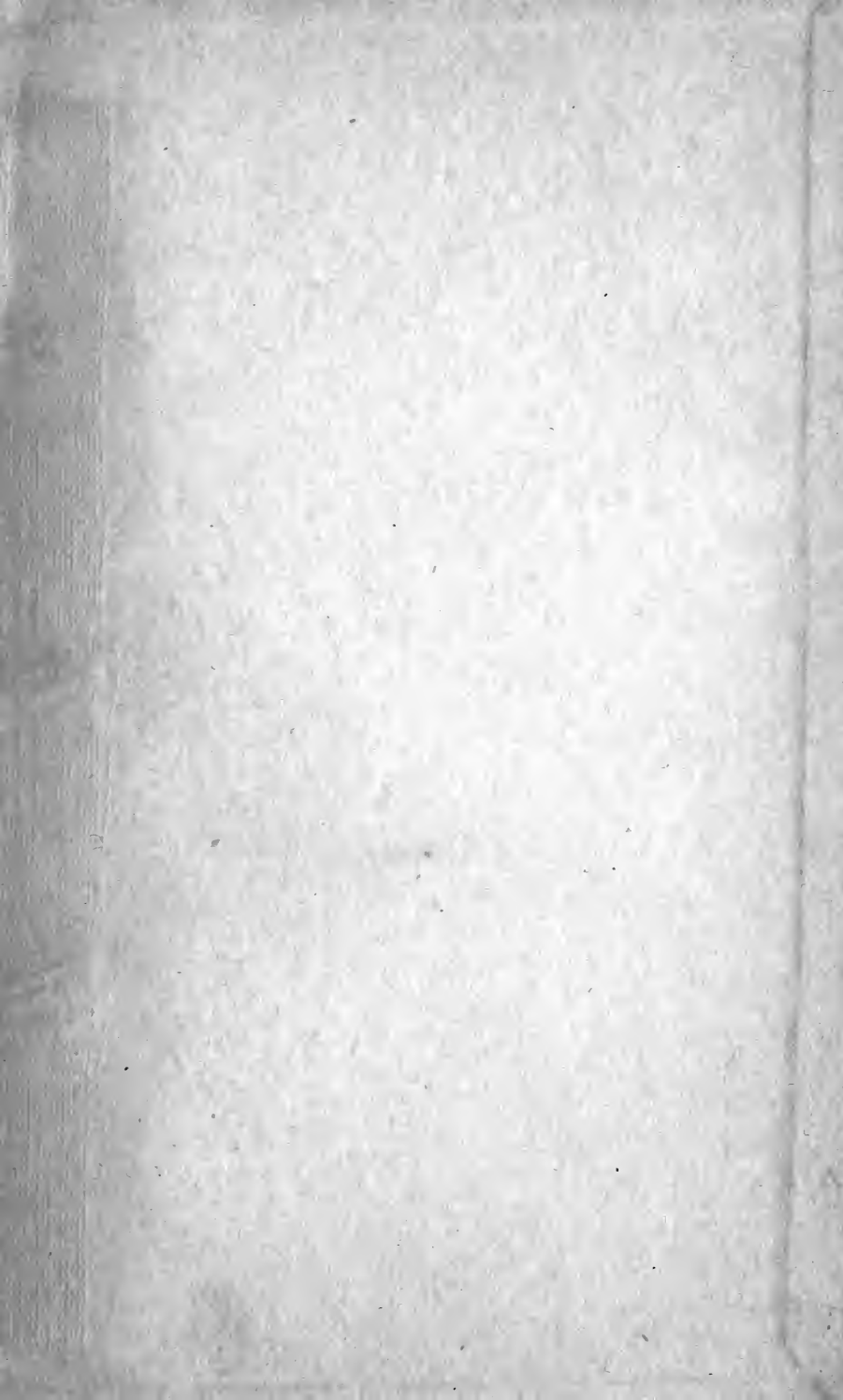
26. The computation of the whole journey, the ascent and descent, was two hundred and fifteen days' march, one thousand one hundred and fifty-five parasangs, thirty-four thousand six hundred and fifty stadia. The length of time occupied in the ascent and descent was one year and three months.

mc mullen





Aug 1 1985



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